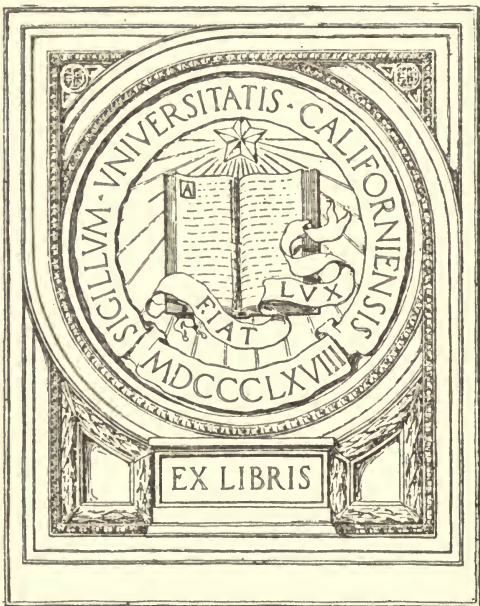




JACOB VOORSANGER MEMORIAL



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HISTORY
OF
THE UNITED STATES
OF
NORTH AMERICA.

BY JOHN FROST,
OF PHILADELPHIA.

LONDON:
CHARLES TILT, FLEET STREET.

1838.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

HISTORY is the relation of events in the order of their occurrence, with reference to their causes and effects. The basis, therefore, of history is facts, and the advantage to be derived from its study depends on truth. But all writers have their prejudices—where then can we seek for truth? The question is an important one, and its consideration gave rise to the proposed Series. The history of one nation necessarily includes that of other nations. Can we separate the history of France from the history of England? From the Conquest to the present hour, what has been the triumph of the one, but the defeat of the other? What is a history of France written by an Englishman, but another version of the history of England? Truth then must be sought for by comparing historical records of other countries with our own. This, however, requires more learning and leisure than in the hard struggle for existence falls to the lot of most men. But, as a general knowledge of history is desirable, and as no more time is occupied in reading one volume than another, it is proposed to translate the most popular histories of all nations; and, in general, those works will be selected which are authorized and read in the several state colleges. This is the object contemplated by the projected Series of truly National Histories. Each work will be complete in itself. The second of the Series will be a translation of *Bonnechose's History of France* (the two volumes in one), to be followed by the History of Germany, and others in due course, and published at such a price as shall bring them within the reach of all classes.

FEB. 28, 1838.

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G. C.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

Columbus, p. 1—Portuguese Discoveries in Africa, 2—Columbus in Spain, 3—Columbus's Outfit, 4—Landing of Columbus at San Salvador, 6—Vespucius, 7—Fate of Columbus, 7.

CHAPTER II.

NORTH AMERICA DISCOVERED AND SETTLED.

The Continent discovered by the Cabots, p. 7—French Discoveries, 8—Cartier, 8—Champlain, 9—Quebec settled, 9.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS TAKE POSSESSION OF FLORIDA.

Ponce de Leon, p. 10—Narvaez, 11—Soto's Expedition, 12—Soto in Georgia and Alabama, 13—In Missouri, 13—The French in Carolina, 14—Massacre of the French in Florida, 15—St. Augustine settled, 15.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND ATTEMPTS TO COLONISE THE UNITED STATES.

Drake, p. 17—Gilbert, 17—English in North Carolina, 18—First Settlement of Roanoke, 19—Virginia Dare, 19—Gosnold, Pring, Weymouth, 20.

CHAPTER V.

COLONISATION OF VIRGINIA.

A company formed, p. 21—First Charter of Virginia, 22—Newport sails, 23—Settlement of Jamestown, 24—Adventures of Captain Smith, 25—The Gold Mania, 25—Second Charter, 26—Lord Delaware, 27—Departure of Captain Smith, 28—The Starving Time, 29—Arrival of Lord Delaware, 30—New Patent created, 31—Marriage of Pocahontas, 31—Tobacco cultivated, 32—Tyranny of Argal, 33.

CHAPTER VI.

VIRGINIA ACQUIRES CIVIL FREEDOM.

Governor Yeardley arrives, p. 33—First Colonial Assembly, 34—The Virginians domesticated, 34—Introduction of Slavery, 35—The Indians, 36—Great Massacre, 37.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIAN WAR—DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

The great Massacre avenged, p. 39—Dissolution of the London Company, 40—Progress of civil Freedom, 41—Designs of Charles I., 42—Indian War, 42—Episcopacy established, 42—Virginia adheres to Charles I., 43—Capitulates to the Commonwealth, 43.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIRGINIA AFTER THE RESTORATION.

The Restoration, p. 44—Restrictions on Commerce, 45—Discontent of the Virginians, 46—Bacon's Rebellion, 47—Heroism of Berkeley, 47—Civil War, 48—Virginia retains her Freedom, 49.

CHAPTER IX.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

Clayborne's Exploration, p. 50—Sir George Calvert, 50—Charter of Maryland, 51—Settlement of St. Mary's, 52—Clayborne's Disturbances, 53—Maryland during the civil War, 53.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

Raleigh Gilbert, p. 54—Settlement on Kennebec River, 54—Smith's Voyages to New England, 54—The Plymouth Council, 55—The Brownists, 55—Voyage of the Pilgrims, 56—Landing, 59—Massasoit, 61—Exploit of Standish, 62—Treachery of Pierce, 63.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

Gorges and Mason's Patent, p. 64—Settlement of Maine, 64—Of Salem and Charlestown, 65—Of Boston, 66—Banishment of Roger Williams, 67—Arrival of Peter and Vane, 68—Aristocracy rejected, 68—Connecticut settled, 69—The Pequod War, 70.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND UNITED.

Attempt to revoke the Charters, p. 72—Persecution of the Puritans in England, 73—New England Colonies united, 74—Roger Williams's Mission to England, 75—Maine united with Massachusetts, 75—Persecution of Quakers, 76

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

The Restoration announced, p. 77—Arrival of the Regicides, 77—The King's Letter, 78—New Charters granted, 79—Charters endangered, 80—King Philip's War, 81—Administration of Andros, Revolution of 1688, 82—Border Wars, 83—Controversy with the Crown, 85—Capture of Louisbourg, 88—Question of Boundaries, 89—State of the New England Colonies in 1754, 89.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONISATION OF NEW YORK.

Henry Hudson's Voyage, p. 90—Settlement of New York, 90—Argall, 90—The New Netherlands, 91—Governor Stuyvesant, 92—Colonel Nichols, —New York acquires civil Freedom, 94—The Five Nations, 96—Jacob Leisler, 98—Burning of Schenectady, 99—Fall of Leisler, 100—The Mohawk Warrior, 101—Affair of Fletcher and Wadsworth, 102—Piracy, 103—Captain Kidd, 104—Lord Cornbury, 104—Administrations of Hunter and Burnet, 105—of Cosby and Clinton, 106.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONISATION OF NEW JERSEY.

Settlements of the Swedes and Dutch, p. 106—New Jersey granted to Berkeley and Carteret, 106—Philip Carteret, 107—Andros, 108—Burlington settled, 109—New Jersey under James II., 110—Under William and Mary, 110.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONISATION OF DELAWARE.

The Swedes at Cape Henlopen, p. 111—The Dutch, 111—Stuyvesant, 111—Penn's Purchase, 112—Separation from Pennsylvania, 112

CHAPTER XVII.

COLONISATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn, p. 112—His Charter, 113—Landing of Penn, 114—Treaty with the Indians, 114—Pennsylvania under William and Mary, 115—Death of Penn, 116—Franklin's Mission to London, 117

CHAPTER XVIII.

COLONISATION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Heath's Patent, p. 118—Albemarle Settlers, 118—Culpepper's Insurrection, 120—Separation of the Carolinas, 121.

CHAPTER XIX.

COLONISATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

Sayle's Settlement, p. 121—Hostility of the Spaniards, 122—Settlement of Charleston, 123—Sothel's Usurpation, 124—Abolition of Proprietary Government, 125

CHAPTER XX.

COLONISATION OF GEORGIA.

Charter, p. 126—Oglethorpe, 126—Whitefield, 127—Spanish Hostilities, 128—Invasion, 128—Retirement of Oglethorpe, 129.

CHAPTER XXI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE OLD FRENCH WAR.

Origin of the French War of 1754, p. 131—The Ohio Company, 132—Fort Du Quesne built, 133—Conquest of Nova Scotia, 134—Braddock's Defeat, 135—Victory of Colonel Johnson, 136—Campaign of 1756, 137—Campaign of 1757, 138.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONQUEST OF CANADA.

Pitt's Ministry, p. 139—Campaign of 1758, 140—General Wolfe, 140—Fall of Quebec, 142—Results of the Campaign of 1760, 143.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REVOLUTION.

Scheme for Taxing the Colonies, p. 144—The Stamp Act, 145—First Continental Congress, 146—Repeal of the Stamp Act, 147—New Taxes imposed, 148—Opposition to the Taxes, 149—Affair of the Sloop Liberty, 150—British Troops in Boston, 151—Boston Massacre, 152—Hutchinson's Letters, 154—Destruction of Imported Tea, 155—Boston Port Bill, 156—Proceedings of the Continental Congress, 158—Approach of War, 159.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

Battle of Concord, p. 161—Boston besieged, 164—Ticonderoga and Crown Point taken, 164—Battle of Breed's Hill, 166—Charlestown burnt, 167.

CHAPTER XXV.

EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA.

Invasion—Montreal taken, p. 170—Escape of Governor Carleton, 171—Arnold before Quebec, 172—Montgomery before Quebec, 173—Death of Montgomery, 173—Arnold's Operations, 174—The Americans retreat, 175—Operations in Upper Canada, 176.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

Attack on Charleston, p. 178—Defeat of the British, 179—Indian War, 180—Declaration of Independence, 182—Arrival of the British at New York, 185—Defeat on Long Island, 187—Washington's Plan of Operations, 189—Battle of White Plains, 189—Retreat through the Jerseys, 190—Washington appointed with Dictatorial Powers, 191—Battle of Trenton, 192—Battle of Princeton, 193—Washington re-conquers the Jerseys, 193.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

The Confederation, p. 194—American Privateers, 195—La Fayette, 196—The Prison Ships, 196—Capture of General Prescott, 198—Operations in New Jersey, 198—Battle of the Brandywine, 199—Battle of Germantown, 200—Battle of Redbank, 201—Operations in the North, 202—Loss of Ticonderoga, 203—Advance of Burgoyne, 203—Battle of Bennington, 204—Fort Schuyler invested, 205—Murder of Miss Macrea, 206—Burgoyne at Saratoga, 207—Battle of Stillwater, 208—Burgoyne's Retreat, 208—Surrender of Burgoyne, 209—The Army at Valley Forge, 210.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

Conciliatory offers of England, p. 212—Death of Chatham, 213—General Reed, 213—Retreat of Barren Hill, 214—Battle of Monmouth, 215—Attempt to recover Rhode Island, 216—Massacre at Wyoming, 217—Defeat of General Howe, 218—Loss of the Randolph, 218.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

Virginia ravaged, p. 219—Putnam's Ride, 220—Storming of Stony Point, 221—Operations in the South, 222—Defeat of General Lincoln, 223—General Prevost before Charleston, 223—Siege of Savannah, 224—Achievements of Paul Jones, 225.

CHAPTER XXX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

War in the South, p. 227—Capitulation of Charleston, 228—Condition of South Carolina, 229—Treachery of the British, 229—Gates's March to the South, 230—Battle of Camden, 232—Proceedings of Cornwallis, 233—Battle of King's Mountain, 234—General Gates superseded, 235—Discontents in the Army, 235—The Army relieved and reinforced, 236—Arrival of the French Fleet, 237—Arnold's Treason, 238—Capture of André, 239—Mutiny in the American Camp, 240.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

General Greene in the South, p. 242—Battle of Cowpens, 243—Morgan's Retreat, 243—Greene's Retreat, 244—Battle of Guildford, 245—Greene marches for South Carolina, 245—Siege of Ninety-Six, 246—Battle of Eutaw Springs, 247—Affair of Colonel Hayne, 248—Cornwallis in Virginia, 249—Arrival of the French Fleet, 250—Preparations for the Siege of New York, 251—Washington marches South, 251—Capture of Fort Griswold, 252—Siege of Yorktown, 253—Surrender of Cornwallis, 254—Its Effects, 255—Lord North resigns, 256—Treaty of Peace, 257—Discontent of the Army, 258—New York evacuated, 259—Retirement of Washington, 259—Character of the Revolutionary War, 260.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

State of the Country, p. 262—Insurrections, 263—Shay's Rebellion, 264—Convention at Alexandria, 265—Federal Convention, 266—Federal Constitution, 267—Formation of Parties, 267—Washington elected President, 268.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Washington receives notice of his election, p. 269—His Journey to New York, 269—Proceedings of the first Congress, 272—Washington's Tour through New England, 272—Debts of the States, 273—Indian War, 275—Defeat of General St. Clair, 275—Washington re-elected President, 276—Citizen Genet, 277—Insurrection in Pennsylvania, 279—Jay's Treaty, 279—Pacific Policy of Washington, 280—Proceedings of the French Directory, 281—Washington's Retirement, 282—His Character, 283.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

Relations with France, p. 285—Intrigues of Talleyrand, 285—Preparations for War with France, 286—Death of Washington, 287—Election of Jefferson, 288.

CHAPTER XXXV.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Effects of Peace in Europe, p. 290—Acquisition of Louisiana, 291—War with Tripoli, 292—Burr's Conspiracy, 294—Depredations on American Commerce, 295—Affair of the Chesapeake, 296—Berlin and Milan Decrees, 297—Embargo, 298—Retirement of Jefferson, 298.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Character of Madison, p. 299—Repeal of the Embargo Law, 299—Missions of Erskine and Jackson, 300—Affair of the Little Belt, 301—Indian War—Battle of Tippecanoe, 302—Henry's Mission, 303—War declared, 304—Effects of the Declaration of War, 304.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

Military Force of the Country, p. 305—The Navy, 306—General Hull's Expedition, 307—Governor Brock's Proclamation, 307—Surrender of General Hull, 308—General Smyth's Operations, 310—Naval Victories, 311.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

Operations on the north-western frontier, p. 313—Siege of Fort Meigs, 314—Capture of York, 315—Attack on Sackett's Harbour, 316—Operations on the Niagara Frontier, 317—Expedition against Montreal, 318—Battle of Chrystler's Fields, 318—British Ravages on the Sea-coast, 319—Sacking of Hampton, 320—Affair of the Hornet and Peacock, 320—Defence of Fort Sandusky, 322—Battle on Lake Erie, 323—Battle of the Thames, 324—Creek War, 325.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

Russian offer of Mediation, p. 326—Battle of Chippewa, 327—Siege of Fort Erie, 328—New York invaded, 329—Battle on Lake Champlain, 329—Flight of General Prevost, 330—Arrival of the British in the Chesapeake, 331—Capture of Washington City, 332—Maryland invaded, 332—Battle of Baltimore, 333—Connecticut and Maine invaded, 334—Hartford Convention, 335—The British expelled from Florida, 336—Attack on New Orleans, 338—Defeated, 339—Peace of Ghent, 340—United States Bank chartered, 340.

CHAPTER XL.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

Relations with Florida and Spain, p. 341—Amelia Island taken, 341—Seminole War, 341—Acquisition of Florida, 342—Admission of Missouri into the Union, 342—Lafayette's Visit—Vote of Congress respecting his Services, 343.

CHAPTER XLI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Inaugural Address, p. 343—Lafayette at Bunker Hill, 344—Indian Treaties, 345—Treaty with Denmark, 345—Deaths of Jefferson and Adams, 345—The Tariff, 345.

CHAPTER XLII.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

Commercial Treaty with Great Britain, p. 346—Indian War, 347—Tariff, 348—Nullification, 348—Compromise Bill, 349—Bank Question, 350—French War threatened, 350—Florida War, 350—Public Debt extinguished, 351.

APPENDIX.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Declaration of Independence | 353 |
| Constitution of the United States | 357 |
| Amendments to the Constitution | 367 |
| Population of the American Colonies | 371 |
| Expense of the Revolutionary War | 371 |
| Forces employed during the Revolution | 371 |
| Troops furnished by the respective States, from 1775 to 1783.... | 373 |
| Table of Contemporary Sovereigns | 374 |

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

SEVERAL of the European nations have laid claim to the discovery of America, prior to the expedition of Columbus. The Welsh historians affirm that Madoc, a prince of their country, embarked from his native land as early as 1170, and, sailing westward, discovered those regions to which the name of America was afterwards given. But this claim rests upon remote and unfounded traditions.

Similar pretensions are urged in favour of the Norwegians and Icelanders; but a careful examination of all the authorities on the subject, has led the more recent historians to the conclusion, that the discoveries of these nations extended no farther than Greenland; to the more southern portion of which territory they gave the name of Vinland.

To Christopher Columbus, therefore, belongs the glory of having made the first discovery of the western world. At a time when geographical science had long slept in Europe, when distant voyages were rare, and discoverers were few, timid, and ignorant, this extraordinary man formed the noble design of crossing the Atlantic ocean, in search of new regions. His opinion, that such an enterprise would be attended with success, was not unsupported by plausible facts and reasonings. Though, in the fifteenth century, the information of geographers was incorrect as well as scanty, certain observations had been recorded, which supported his

theory. From the form of the earth's shadow on the moon in an eclipse it had been inferred that its shape was globular; and tolerably accurate ideas had been conceived of its magnitude. It was, therefore, apparent that Europe, Asia, and Africa could occupy but a small portion of its surface, and it seemed highly improbable that the remaining portion was one vast ocean. Travellers in the east had reported that Asia extended very far in that direction, and the rotundity of the earth being known, it was inferred that the East Indies might be reached by holding a course directly west from Europe.

These reasonings were not unsupported by striking facts. Pieces of wood, nicely carved, and apparently borne from a far country, had been thrown on the western coast of the Madeiras. A tree of an unknown species had been taken out of the ocean near the Azores; and the bodies of two men, of strange colour, and unusual appearance, had been found upon the coast.

From these circumstances Columbus inferred the existence of the regions which he afterwards discovered, and the possibility of reaching them by sailing to the west.

At this period the favourite object of discovery was a passage to the East Indies by sea. The Venetians had, by their advantageous position, and their great commercial activity, hitherto engrossed the profitable trade of that country; and thus excited the envy and jealousy of the other nations of Europe. Their communication with the East Indies was principally over-land. Others were attempting a passage by sea. From the commencement of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese had been extending their discoveries along the western coast of Africa towards the south, and had nearly doubled the Cape of Good Hope. They were destined soon to attain this grand object, and establish a lucrative trade in the rare productions of the East.

To find a shorter and more direct route to India was the immediate object of Columbus in proposing to undertake a voyage of discovery. The rich returns of oriental commerce formed the chief inducement, which he urged upon those sovereigns, to whom he submitted his project, with a view to gain their support and patronage.

He first applied to the government of Genoa, his native country; but here his offer was rejected, probably in consequence of the decline of commercial enterprise among the

Genoese. He then made application to King John II. of Portugal, a monarch who had liberally encouraged voyages of discovery. Here he met with no better success; for the king having referred the matter to his counsellors, was by them discouraged from lending his support to a project which they represented as extravagant and visionary. This wise opinion did not, however, prevent the Portuguese government from secretly fitting out an expedition which was intended to deprive Columbus of the glory of his discovery. The return of this expedition without success, having apprised Columbus of the treachery designed against him, he left the country in disgust. It was about this period that he despatched his brother Bartholomew Columbus to England, for the purpose of gaining the patronage of Henry VII. in support of his project. The voyage, however, was attended with so much delay, that that sovereign was not enabled to complete his arrangements, and make known his favourable disposition to Christopher Columbus, until the discovery had actually been effected.

Disappointed in his applications to other courts, Columbus, in 1486, applied to that of Spain. The sovereigns of this country, Ferdinand and Isabella, were at that time engaged in expelling the Moors from Granada, their last strong hold on the Peninsula; and it was not until the war was terminated that Columbus was enabled to obtain a favourable hearing. He had been for upwards of six years urging his suit without success, and was about quitting the country for England, when, by order of Isabella, he was desired to relinquish his intention of applying to other courts, and invited into her presence with distinguished marks of condescension and respect.

‘The character and dispositions of Columbus,’ observes a recent writer, ‘were such as highly recommended him to the rulers of Spain. To that quickness and decision, which are the usual indications of genius, he added that solemnity of aspect, and gravity of manners, which the Spanish cultivate with so much care, and which serve to distinguish them from the other nations of Europe. His appearance was dignified; and his behaviour respectful; he was resolute in his purposes, and firm in his demands.

At his interview with Isabella, he relaxed in nothing of what he had originally proposed: the conditions on which he declared himself willing to undertake the expedition were

still the same ;—‘ that he should be appointed admiral of all the seas which he might explore, and governor of all the continents and islands which he might visit ; that these offices should be hereditary in his family ; and that the tenth of every thing bought, bartered, found, or got, within the bounds of his admiralship, abating only the charge of the conquest, should be settled upon him, and should descend to his heirs in case of his death.’

He desired that a small fleet should be equipped, and put under his command for the proposed discovery, and, to show his own confidence in the undertaking, he offered to advance an eighth part of the money, which would be necessary for building the ships, provided he should be allowed a proportionate share of the profits resulting from the enterprise.

Juan Perez, guardian of the monastery of La Rabida, near the town of Palos, one of the earliest friends of Columbus in Spain, had obtained for him the honour of an interview with Isabella. Perez was the queen’s confessor, and an ecclesiastic of great influence and respectability. By his representations, together with those of Alonzo de Quintanilla and Luis de St. Angel, officers of distinction under the Spanish crown, a favourable hearing was granted to the propositions of Columbus. They stated to the queen that he was a man of commanding talents and high integrity, well informed in geography and skilled in navigation ; they spoke to her of the glory which would result from the enterprise, and which would for ever attach to her reign ; and of the extension of the Christian religion, which would be disseminated in the countries to be discovered.

These representations of Quintanilla and St. Angel, and the favourable state of the kingdom, just freed from the last remnant of the Moorish invaders, afforded prevailing motives with the queen for engaging Columbus in her service on his own terms. A fleet was ordered to be fitted out from the port of Palos. It consisted of three vessels of inconsiderable size, such as would by no means be deemed suitable for a voyage across the Atlantic at the present day. They were victualled for twelve months, and had on board ninety mariners, with several private adventurers and servants ; amounting in all to one hundred and twenty persons. The whole expense of the expedition was but about twenty thousand dollars. But even this was considered by the statesmen of the time too great an expenditure for so uncertain an enterprise.

When the squadron was ready for sailing, Columbus, with his officers and crew, went in solemn procession to the monastery of La Rabida, and after confessing their sins and partaking of the communion, they committed themselves to the protection of Heaven, and took leave of their friends, whom they left full of gloomy apprehensions with respect to their perilous undertaking.

It was on the morning of the 3d of August, 1492, that Columbus set sail from the harbour of Palos, in the Santa Maria, the largest vessel of his squadron. The others were called the Pinta and the Nina; the former commanded by Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and the latter by Vincent Yanez Pinzon, his brother. On the 6th of August they came in sight of the Canaries. Among these islands they were detained more than three weeks, endeavouring to procure another vessel to supply the place of the Pinta, which had suffered some injury in her rudder. The Pinta was finally repaired; and on the 6th of September, Columbus set sail from Gomera, one of the Canaries, and began his voyage on the unknown deep.

On the 13th of September, the squadron was distant nearly 200 leagues from the most westerly of the Canaries. Here the magnetic needle was observed to vary from its direction towards the polar star, a phenomenon which had not before been observed; and which, of course, filled the mariners with alarm, since it appeared to withdraw from them their only guide upon the pathless ocean. Columbus was by no means disheartened by this appearance. He invented a plausible reason for it; and succeeded in reconciling his crew to their further progress. Their discontent, however, speedily broke forth anew, and all the self-possession and address of the admiral were scarcely sufficient to preserve his ascendancy and insure the completion of his voyage.

When their patience was nearly exhausted, the signs of land began to appear. The water had become more shallow; flocks of strange birds were observed; a curiously wrought staff was taken up by the men of the Pinta; and weeds were seen floating in the water of a kind different from any which were known to the voyagers. During the night of the 11th of October, a light was observed by Columbus himself, at a distance, moving as if carried by some fisherman or traveller.

This last appearance was considered by him as decisive evidence of land; and, moreover, that the land was inhabited.

They continued their course till two o'clock in the morning, when a gun from the *Pinta* gave the signal that land was in sight. It proved to be one of the Bahama islands.

On the morning of the 12th of October, Columbus, richly attired in scarlet, and bearing the royal standard, entered his own boat, accompanied by the other commanders, in their boats, and landing on the island took possession of it on behalf of the Castilian sovereigns, giving it the name of San Salvador.

The landing was accompanied with every demonstration of joy and gratitude to heaven. The admiral and his followers knelt on the shore, and kissed the ground with tears and thanksgiving. The natives, who had assembled in great numbers on the first appearance of the ships, were struck speechless with astonishment. They stood around the Spaniards, unable to comprehend the import of those ceremonies with which the newly-discovered land was claimed by these formidable visitors. They considered them as beings of a superior order, children of the sun, descended from heaven to dwell among the inhabitants of the earth; little imagining that they were speedily to exterminate the peaceful nations who then possessed the western Archipelago.

The island was called by the inhabitants Guanahani. It is one of the Bahama group, and is distant about 3000 miles from the most westerly of the Canaries. Columbus afterwards discovered and touched at other islands in the same group, and also added the extensive islands of Cuba and Hispaniola to the possessions of the Spanish sovereigns, before completing his first voyage. All these newly-discovered lands, he supposed, conformably to the theory which he had adopted, to be at no great distance from India; and as they had been reached by a western passage, they were called the West Indies. Even when the increase of geographical science had discovered the error, the name was retained, and it is continued to the present day.

Columbus's return to Spain was hailed with acclamations of joy. His journey from Palos to Barcelona, where he was to meet the sovereigns, was a perfect triumph, and his reception by Ferdinand and Isabella was attended with marks of favour and condescension proportioned to the magnitude and importance of his services.

Columbus afterwards undertook several voyages to the New World, planted colonies and built cities and forts. In

his third voyage he visited the continent of America, landed at different places on the coasts of Paria and Cumana. But his discovery of the continent had been anticipated by an English voyager, Cabot, as will hereafter be related.

Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine gentleman, who had sailed with Columbus, visited the continent some years afterwards ; and published an account of his expedition, so plausibly written as to lead his contemporaries to the supposition that he was the real discoverer. The continent, in consequence, received the appellation of America ; at what period is not well ascertained. Although we cannot but regret the injustice of this proceeding, which deprives Columbus of an honour so nobly earned, yet the consent of all nations has given the name a sanction which it were vain to dispute or disregard.

It was the lot of Columbus to receive injustice and neglect in return for the greatest benefits. He was deprived of the rewards and honours promised him by Ferdinand and Isabella, superseded in the government of the colony, which he had founded ; and sent home in chains from the New World which he had 'found for Castile and Leon,' and, after having attracted the admiration and applause of the whole civilized world by the brilliancy of his achievements, he was suffered to die in comparative poverty and neglect.

CHAPTER II.

NORTH AMERICA DISCOVERED AND SETTLED.

ALTHOUGH Columbus discovered the New World, he was not the first navigator who reached the American continent. This was the achievement of John Cabot and his son Sebastian, who conducted an expedition of five ships under a commission from Henry VII. of England, to search for unknown islands and countries, and take possession of them in the king's name. The expedition was fitted out from Bristol, in England ; and reached the American continent, probably in 56 degrees of north latitude, on the coast of Labrador, June 14th, 1497, nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the main land.

If the right of discovery be valid, a point which it is hardly worth while to discuss here, England had certainly the best right of any of the nations of Europe to plant colonies in North America. Her claim, however, was warmly disputed by Spain, Portugal and France.

The Cabots made another voyage to North America in 1498, and explored the coast as far south as Maryland; and Sebastian Cabot, who, on account of his nautical skill and enterprise, was called the Great Seaman, sailed, in 1517, up the straits and bay which afterwards received the name of Hudson, until he reached the latitude of sixty-seven and a half degrees, expecting to find a north-west passage to India. A mutiny of his crew compelled him to return.

The Portuguese, who at this period were very active in prosecuting distant voyages of discovery, fitted out an expedition under Gaspar Cortereal. He explored the coast for 600 miles as far to the north as the 50th degree, and brought off upwards of 50 Indians, whom he sold as slaves on his return. (1501.)

The French were among the early voyagers to North America. The banks of Newfoundland were visited by their fishermen as early as 1504, and in 1523 John Verrazzani, a Florentine, was sent on a voyage of discovery by Francis I. He explored the American coast from North Carolina to Nova Scotia, and held friendly intercourse with the natives. The French claims to their American territories were founded upon his discoveries.

Another expedition under James Cartier was fitted out in 1534, and the gulf and river of St. Lawrence were visited, many of the harbours and islands explored, and the country declared a French territory. The next year, Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence again, and discovered and named the island of Montreal. He passed the winter in Canada, and in the spring erected a cross with a shield upon it, bearing the arms of France, and an inscription declaring Francis I. to be the sovereign of the territory; to which he gave the name of New France.

In 1540, Francis de la Roque, Lord of Roberval, obtained from Francis I. a commission to plant a colony in America, giving him a viceroy's authority over the territories and islands on the gulf and river St. Lawrence. Cartier was, at the same time, commissioned as captain general and chief pilot of the expedition, with authority to raise recruits for

the colony from the prisons of France, a circumstance by no means favourable to the permanence of the proposed settlement. These leaders were rather too independent of each other. They did not even depart from Europe in company. Cartier left France in May, 1541, sailed up the St. Lawrence, built a fort near where Quebec was subsequently founded, passed the winter there, and returned in June, 1542. About the time of his return, Roberval, with a colony, arrived in Canada, or Norimbega, as it was then sometimes termed, remained till the next year, and then abandoned his vice-royalty and returned home. He afterwards sailed again for Canada, but is supposed to have perished on the sea.

The civil wars of France prevented any further attempts at colonization in America till 1598, when the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany, formed a temporary settlement on the isle of Sable. His colony had been peopled by sweeping the prisons of France, and it was of very short duration.

In 1604, an expedition was fitted out by a company of merchants of Rouen; and placed under the command of Samuel Champlain, an able and enterprising officer, who 'became the father of the French settlements in Canada.' On his first expedition he made considerable geographical researches; observed carefully the nature of the climate and soil, and the character of the natives; and selected the position of the future capital of the province.

After he returned to France, a charter was granted to De Monts to settle Acadia, under which name was included all the country from the 40th to the 46th degree of north latitude. His expedition left France in 1604, in two ships, and after their arrival in Nova Scotia, Poutrincourt, one of the leaders who accompanied De Monts, made choice of the spot where Annapolis now stands as the site of a settlement, to which he gave the name of Port Royal. De Monts settled on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of the same name, but afterwards abandoned this situation and removed to Port Royal, which was the first permanent French settlement made in North America. (1605.) Three years afterwards (1608) Champlain, acting in the service of a private company of merchants, occupied the site of the city of Quebec by raising some cottages and clearing a few acres of land. He afterwards took a part in the Indian wars,

sailed up the river Sorel, and explored the lake which now bears his name. To his enterprise and courage the French were indebted for their colonies in this country.

CHAPTER III.

THE SPANIARDS TAKE POSSESSION OF FLORIDA.

As the Spaniards had been the first nation to attempt the discovery of the New World, so they were the most enterprising and adventurous in their endeavours to conquer and colonize its extensive and fertile countries. The history of their warlike achievements in Mexico and Peru present examples of the most heroic bravery and perseverance, darkened by many shadows of avarice and injustice. The whole nation seems to have been fired with the spirit of foreign adventure, and the New World was the grand theatre for its display.

Previous to the expeditions of Cortes and Pizarro, Florida had been discovered by Juan Ponce de Leon. This adventurer had accompanied Columbus in his second voyage; and afterwards had been successively appointed governor of the eastern province of Hispaniola, and of Porto Rico. When he had been displaced from the government of the latter island, in consequence of the paramount claims of Columbus's family, he fitted out an expedition with the romantic design of searching for a country in which, according to information received from the Caribs, there was a fountain whose waters imparted to those who bathed in them the gift of perpetual youth. Having sailed about among the Bahamas and touched at several of them, in pursuit of this fairy land, he at length (March 27, 1512,) came in sight of the continent. As this discovery was made on Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, the land was called Florida. Its verdant forests and magnificent flowering aloes may have afforded another reason for assigning it this name.

It was not till the 8th of April that he was able to effect a landing in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes, a little to the north of St. Augustine. He claimed the territory

for Spain, remained some weeks exploring the coast, and then returned to Porto Rico, leaving a part of his company in the newly discovered country.

The king of Spain rewarded him with the government of Florida, on condition that he should conquer and colonise it. This he attempted in 1521, but was resisted with great fury by the Indians, who killed many of his followers, drove the survivors to their ships, and compelled him to relinquish the enterprise. Ponce de Leon himself was wounded with an arrow, and died shortly after his return to Cuba.

In 1510, the southern coast of the United States was partially explored by Grijalva; and in 1520, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon fitted out two slave ships, from St. Domingo, visited the coast of South Carolina, then called Chicora, discovered the Combahee river, to which the name of the Jordan was given; and finally, having decoyed a large number of the Indians on board his ships, set sail with them for St. Domingo, leaving behind the most determined purpose of revenge among the injured natives.

His sovereign rewarded this atrocious enterprise by appointing Ayllon to the conquest of Chicora. In attempting this, he lost one of his ships and a great number of his men, who were killed by the natives in revenge for former wrongs. He was finally compelled to relinquish his undertaking.

In 1526, Pamphilo de Narvaez, the same officer who had been sent by Velasquez to supersede Cortes in Mexico, attempted the conquest of Florida. This expedition was signally disastrous. The Spaniards landed near Appalachee bay, marched into the interior, and spent six months, in various hardships and conflicts with the Indians, and at last found their way back to the sea shore, somewhere near the bay of Pensacola. Here they fitted out boats, and embarking were shipwrecked near the mouth of the Mississippi. Only four or five out of three hundred reached Mexico to tell the story of their disasters. These men gave such flattering accounts of the riches of the country, that their sufferings by no means deterred others from attempting its subjugation.

The next Spanish adventurer on the shores of the United States was Ferdinand de Soto, a highly distinguished officer, who had shared the glory and wealth obtained by Pizarro in the conquest of Peru. Returning to Spain after the most brilliant success in that country, he demanded of Charles V. to conquer Florida at his own cost; and received from that

monarch a commission for that purpose, together with the government of Cuba. (1537.)

Multitudes of adventurers flocked to his standard. Expectation had been raised to the greatest height by the exaggerated accounts of the wealth of Florida; and men of all classes sold their possessions in Spain to fit themselves out for a conquest which promised to outshine those of Mexico and Peru, in the brilliancy of its results.

Soto selected six hundred of the choicest men for his companions, and sailed to Cuba. (1538.) Here he was joined by other adventurers, and having completed his preparations, he embarked for Florida in May, 1539. Having arrived in the bay of Spiritu Santo, he sent back most of his ships to Havanna, and commenced his march into the interior—a march which has no parallel in the history of adventure. Fired by the example of their countrymen in the more southern regions, the Spaniards advanced as if to certain conquest and wealth. They were abundantly supplied with provisions and munitions of war, horses for the cavalry, and blood-hounds for hunting the natives; and their numbers exceeded those of the armies which had conquered Mexico and Peru. But they were destined for a far different fate. Their grand error, the pursuit of gold, was the source of endless disasters and sufferings.

The Indians, who were determined in their hostility to the invaders, had recourse to stratagem, as well as force, in order to get rid of them. They continually deceived the Spaniards by representing to them that, by continuing their march into the interior, they would at last arrive at a region abounding with gold—and deluded, again and again, by this plausible story, Soto passed onward from tribe to tribe, and from river to river, until his splendid and well appointed army had melted away to a mere handful of men, worn out with sufferings, and destitute of the means of subsistence or defence.

Setting out from the bay of Spiritu Santo in June 1539, they spent the time in wandering through forests and morasses, until October, when they found themselves in the neighbourhood of Appalachee bay.—The men were dispirited, and desirous to return home; but Soto would not hear of such a measure; he sent to Cuba for supplies for the next year's expedition.

In March, 1540, deluded by the promise of an Indian guide to conduct him to a country where gold was abundant, Soto

set forth again and marched towards the north-east, till they reached the Ogechee, and then through the country of the Cherokees, now a part of the gold region ; but without discovering any of the precious metal. From Georgia the Spaniards passed into Alabama, and in October fought a severe battle with the Indians, at a town which was then called Mavilla or Mobile, on the Alabama above the junction of the Tombecbee. In this engagement 2,500 Indians are said to have fallen. The town was burned. The Spaniards had 18 killed and 150 wounded, and lost a part of their horses and all their baggage, which was burned in the town.

Having received supplies from Cuba, Soto now marched towards the north and west. In December, 1540, he had reached the upper part of the Mississippi, where he wintered in a deserted town of the Chickasaws. In the spring he demanded of them 200 men, to carry the baggage of the soldiers. The Indians, instead of complying with this unwarrantable requisition, set fire to the town in which the Spaniards were encamped, in the night, and attacked them with great fury. The loss of men in this encounter was trifling, but the Spaniards suffered severely from the destruction of their clothing, their arms, and a part of their horses. The Indians knew not how to follow up their first advantage, and the invaders were soon in a condition to continue their progress to the west.

In April, 1541, Soto discovered the Mississippi, being the first European who visited that river. In June he had crossed it, and reached Missouri; and during the summer he is supposed to have penetrated as far as the highlands of the White river, 200 miles from the Mississippi. Thence he turned towards the south, and passed through Arkansas into Louisiana. His wanderings and contests with the Indians continued until May 21st, 1542, when, worn out with sickness and fatigue, the unfortunate Soto died, on the banks of the great river which he had discovered. To conceal his death from the Indians, his followers sunk the body in the middle of the stream.

‘The discoverer of the Mississippi,’ says Bancroft, from whose eloquent history we have condensed this brief account of his expedition—‘the discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial place.’

He had been the soul of the enterprise ; and when he had perished, the remnant of his followers were only anxious for a safe passage to their countrymen. Under the conduct of Moscoso, their new leader, they attempted to reach Mexico, and marched 300 miles westward from the Mississippi. But the Red river was swollen so as to present an impassable barrier to their further progress, and they were compelled to return and prepare boats for passing down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico—an undertaking of great difficulty and danger, which was not accomplished until July 18th, 1543. Fifty days afterwards the remnant of Soto's splendid company of adventurers, now reduced to 311 in number, arrived at the province of Panuco in Mexico.

Thus far the Spaniards, although they claimed the whole coast of the United States under the name of Florida, had not effected a single settlement on the soil. For some years after Soto's failure the design seems to have been abandoned ; until an attempt of the French to establish a colony in Florida awakened the jealousy of the Spaniards ; and brought them forward once more, to revive and make good their claim to the land which had cost them so much blood and treasure.

Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France, conceived the design of establishing a colony of French Protestants in America ; which should afford a refuge to those who were persecuted for their religious opinions, during the civil wars with which his country was disturbed in the reign of Charles IX. He obtained a commission for this purpose from the king ; and intrusted the expedition to John Ribault, who sailed with a squadron in February, 1562.

Having arrived on the coast of Florida in the latitude of St. Augustine, Ribault explored the coast, discovered the river St. Johns, which he called the river of May, and visited Port Royal entrance near Beaufort, and having left a colony of 26 persons at a fort which he named Carolina in honour of Charles IX., he returned to France. The civil wars in that kingdom being revived, no reinforcements were sent out to the colony, and it was speedily abandoned.

On the return of peace (1564,) Coligny was enabled to send out a new expedition under Laudonniere, an able and intelligent commander, who arrived on the coast of Florida in June, began a settlement on the river May, and erected a new Fort Carolina, many leagues to the south of its predecessor. Here they had to encounter the usual hardships and privations of

settlers in a new country, till December of the same year, when a part of the colonists, under pretence of escaping from famine, obtained permission from Laudonniere to equip two vessels and sail for Mexico. But instead of doing so, they began to capture Spanish vessels. They were taken and punished, as pirates.

When the colony was nearly exhausted by the scarcity of food, relief was brought by the fleet of Sir John Hawkins, who furnished a supply of provisions, and made the offer of one of his vessels to convey the French to their own country. Just as they were preparing to embark, Ribault arrived with a reinforcement, and ample supplies of every kind.

The colony had now a fair prospect of ultimate success. But it had been planted in a territory to which the Spanish had a prior claim, which, although dormant, was by no means extinct. An expedition was soon fitted out for the occupation of Florida; and its departure from Spain was hastened by the report, that the country was already in possession of a company of settlers doubly obnoxious to the Spaniards on account of their nation and their religion. They were not only Frenchmen, but Protestants.

This expedition, commanded by Pedro Melendez, came in sight of the Florida shore in August, 1565. A few days afterwards Melendez discovered and named the harbour of St. Augustine, and learned the position of the French. Before attacking them, he landed at St. Augustine, and took possession of the continent in the name of the king of Spain, and laid the foundation of the town. This interesting event took place on the 8th of September, 1565; more than forty years before the settlement of Jamestown in Virginia. St. Augustine can, therefore, boast a higher antiquity than the Ancient Dominion.

Meanwhile the French, having learned the arrival of their enemies, nearly all abandoned the settlement on the river May, embarked in their fleet, and were shipwrecked on the coast. The remnant were attacked and massacred by the Spaniards, who, in honour of the saint on whose festival the victory had been obtained, gave the river May the name of St. Matheo, or St. Matthew. Those Frenchmen, who had survived the shipwreck of the fleet, surrendered to Melendez on a promise of safety; but they were nearly all put to death, many of them were hung on gibbets with the inscription over their heads, '*Not as Frenchmen but as Protestants.*' A few catholics were saved from the massacre. After thus extirpat-

ing the French colony, the Spaniards sailed for their native country, leaving a force in possession of the settlement.

As the French government took no measures for punishing this aggression, Dominic de Gourgues, a French officer of some distinction, fitted out an expedition of three ships and one hundred and fifty men at his own cost, (1568,) for the express purpose of avenging his murdered countrymen. He surprised the forts on the river St. Matheo, and captured a considerable number of prisoners, who were forthwith hanged upon trees with the inscription over their heads, '*I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers.*' He then embarked without attempting to keep possession of his conquest. His acts were disavowed by the French government, and the Spaniards continued to hold the colony.

Thus it appears, that up to the year 1568, the Spaniards were the only nation holding possessions within the territory at present belonging to the united States. It was nearly forty years after this that England began the settlement of Virginia.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND ATTEMPTS TO COLONISE THE UNITED STATES.

THE fisheries of Newfoundland appear to have been visited frequently, if not annually, by the English as well as the French navigators, during the early part of the sixteenth century; and both nations cherished the design of founding colonies in North America. We have already shown that Nova Scotia was settled by the French in 1605, and Canada in 1608.

Previous to these settlements the English were by no means inactive in the career of western adventure. The discovery of a north-west passage to India was a favourite project with them, notwithstanding the failure of the Cabots in attempting it. An expedition for this purpose was fitted out by Martin Frobisher, under the patronage of Dudley, Earl of Warwick, in 1576. It consisted of two small barks, of twenty and twenty-five tons burden, one of which was lost on the outward passage. With the remaining vessels Frobisher pursued his

voyage; landed on the coast of Labrador, and brought away some of the mineral productions of the country. On his return one of the stones he had found was thought, by the English refiners, to contain gold. This circumstance gave a new direction to British enterprise, and gold became now the grand object of discovery. Queen Elizabeth contributed to the fitting out of a new expedition, which returned laden with what was supposed to be gold ore, but was soon discovered to be worthless earth. (1577.) Not discouraged by this result, the queen lent her aid to a new enterprise, which had for its objects the permanent settlement of that high northern region, and the working of its supposed mines of gold. Fifteen vessels, carrying one hundred settlers, many of whom were sons of the English gentry, were despatched in pursuit of boundless wealth in the New World. The fleet encountered great difficulties and dangers among the currents and islands of ice, with which the northern seas abounded; the settlers were afraid to remain in so dreary a region; and their hopes of bringing home cargoes of gold ore were, of course, as futile as those of their predecessors.

While these attempts were made on the eastern coast of North America, Sir Francis Drake, in one of his cruises in search of Spanish merchantmen in the Pacific, thought proper to explore the western coast in hopes of finding the supposed northern strait connecting the two oceans. He sailed as far as the forty-third degree of north latitude, and was consequently the first Englishman who visited the Oregon territory. (1579.)

The plan of colonisation was, meanwhile, revived by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a man of intelligence and singular intrepidity, who, having obtained a charter from queen Elizabeth, sailed from England with a small fleet in 1579, in hopes of establishing a permanent colony; but the loss of one of his ships and other disasters compelled him to return. A new squadron was fitted out by the joint exertions of Gilbert and his step-brother, Walter Raleigh, in 1583. Nothing more was accomplished by this expedition, than the empty ceremony of taking possession of Newfoundland in the queen's name, and the discovery of some earth which was falsely supposed to contain silver. On the passage home, the small vessel in which the unfortunate Gilbert sailed, was foundered. Her companion reached England in safety.

Not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother, Raleigh

determined to found a colony farther to the south. For this purpose, having obtained a patent from the queen, he despatched two vessels under the command of Amidas and Barlow, who arrived on the shores of Carolina in July, 1584, and after sailing along the coast for a distance of one hundred miles, landed on the island of Wococken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock inlet. They were delighted with the rich and verdant appearance of the country, and the mild and gentle manners of the natives; and having explored Albemarle and Pamlico sounds and Roanoke island, and induced two of the natives to accompany them, they returned to England.

The accounts, which they gave of the beauty and fertility of the country, were so flattering, that queen Elizabeth considered it an important addition to her dominions, and gave it the name of Virginia, in reference to her own unmarried state. Raleigh, who had now received the honour of knighthood, soon fitted out a new expedition of seven vessels, carrying one hundred and eight colonists under the direction of Ralph Lane, who was appointed governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville, Hariot, Cavendish, and other distinguished men accompanied him. Arriving on the coast, the fleet was in some danger of shipwreck near a headland, to which they gave the name of Cape Fear. It escaped, however, and arrived at Roanoke. After landing, the men of science, attached to the expedition, made an excursion, to examine the country; and in revenge for some petty theft Sir Richard Grenville ordered an Indian town to be burnt. He soon after sailed for England, leaving Lane and his company behind. Hariot, who was an accurate observer of nature, paid considerable attention to the native productions of the soil. Among these were tobacco, maize or Indian corn, and potatoes, which, till then unknown to the English, have since become important sources of subsistence and wealth in every part of the country.

The Indians were at first considered by no means formidable to the colonists. Their weapons were bows and arrows, and wooden swords. They were divided into numerous small tribes, independent of each other. The largest of these tribes could scarcely muster a thousand warriors. Their terror at the effects of the English fire-arms was only equalled by the superstitious reverence which they professed for beings who were so much their superiors in knowledge and arts.

Their fears, however, did not restrain them from attempts to destroy the intruders, as soon as they began to suspect

them of a design to supplant themselves in the possession of the soil. They formed a conspiracy to massacre the English, and even thought of abandoning their fields in order to drive them away by famine. When the situation of the colony had become critical, and the people were beginning to despond, Sir Francis Drake, with a fleet of twenty-three vessels, on his way from the West Indies to England, paid them a visit; and the whole colony abandoned the soil and returned to their native country. (1586.)

A few years afterwards, a ship which had been sent out by Raleigh, arrived with supplies for the colony, and soon after, Sir Richard Grenville, with three more ships, sought in vain for those whom he had so recently left full of hope and resolution, to hold permanent possession of the land. He left fifteen men on the island of Roanoke, who were afterwards ascertained to have been murdered by the Indians.

Next year (1587) Raleigh sent out a colony of emigrants with their wives and families, hoping thus to insure their permanent residence. They were directed to settle on Chesapeake bay, but the governor, White, was compelled by the commander of the fleet to remain on Roanoke. The emigrants met with the usual hardships, and many of them only remained till the close of the summer. During their stay, Virginia Dare, the grand-daughter of the governor, was born, the first descendant of English parents in our country.

She remained with her parents after the governor had returned to England, and with them she perished in the land of her birth. The threatened invasion of England by the Spanish armada, prevented Raleigh from sending out reinforcements; and when, in 1590, governor White returned to search for his daughter and grand-child, Roanoke, the place of their settlement, was deserted. The fate of the colony was never precisely ascertained.

When the English had succeeded in defeating the Spanish fleet, Sir Walter Raleigh, finding his fortune too much diminished to continue the project of colonising Virginia, made use of the privilege granted in his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, for the purpose of effecting his original design. Among the members of the new company was Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, a man of distinguished learning and intelligence, and the author of an extensive collection of voyages. He contributed more than any other individual to awaken among his countrymen that spirit of

foreign enterprise, for which they have ever since been distinguished. Although the design of the new company was not immediately executed, yet to them we are chiefly indebted for the expedition which finally effected a permanent settlement, as we shall hereafter relate.

While their operations were suspended, a voyage took place, which had nearly given to New England a priority over Virginia in the period of its settlement. This voyage was undertaken in 1602, by Bartholomew Gosnold, who, abandoning the usual route to America by the Canaries and West Indies, sailed directly across the Atlantic and landed in Massachusetts Bay, discovered and named Cape Cod, the Elizabeth Islands, and Buzzard's Bay, which he called Gosnold's Hope. On the westernmost of the Elizabeth Islands to which he gave the name now applied to the whole group, he landed some men with a design of settling. A fort and store house were built; and preparations were made for a permanent residence on the spot. But the courage of the colonists failed, and the whole company returned to England after a short voyage of four months.

In 1603, and 1606, Martin Pring made two voyages to the American coast, which he explored from Martha's Vineyard to the north-eastern part of Maine. His object was to traffic with the natives, and in this he was successful.

Nearly the same ground was passed over in 1605, by George Weymouth, who discovered and ascended the Penobscot river; and on his return brought away five of the natives whom he had decoyed on board his ship.

Thus far the attempts of the English to form permanent settlements on our shores were unsuccessful. Still these expeditions served to keep alive the claims which were founded on the discovery of the Cabots; and the extent of the explorations made by English voyagers on the coast, was subsequently considered a sufficient ground for expelling, or incorporating with their own establishments, the colonies which were planted by other nations on the soil of the United States.

CHAPTER V.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.

ALTHOUGH the attempts to form a permanent colony in Virginia had not hitherto succeeded, many persons of distinction in England still entertained sanguine hopes of ultimately effecting this grand object. Gosnold, whose voyage to New England we have already noticed, succeeded in forming a company consisting of himself, Wingfield, a merchant, Hunt, a clergyman, and the celebrated Captain John Smith; and they were, for more than a year, engaged in considering the project of a plantation. At the same time Sir Ferdinand Gorges was forming a similar design, in which he was joined by Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England.

Hakluyt, who was a participator in the privileges of Raleigh's patent, was desirous of proceeding with his plan of colonization; and the king of England, James I., was favourably disposed towards the design of enlarging his dominions. A company was formed by Gates, Summers, Gosnold, Smith, Hakluyt, Gorges, and Popham; application was made to the king for a charter, and one was readily obtained which secured ample privileges to the colonists.

On the 10th of April, 1606, the charter was issued under the great seal of England, to the petitioners, Sir Thomas Gates and his associates, granting to them those territories in America, lying on the sea coast between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, (that is, from Cape Fear to Halifax,) and which either belonged to James I., or were not then possessed by any other Christian prince or people; and also the islands adjacent to, or within one hundred miles of the coast. The French settlement already noticed in Nova Scotia, then called Acadia, was of course excepted by these terms.

The petitioners were divided by their own desire into two companies; one consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants, and other adventurers of the city of London, and elsewhere, was called the first colony, and was required to settle between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude; the other consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of Bristol, Exeter, and other places in the west of

England, and called the second colony, was ordered to settle between the 38th and 45th degrees of north latitude.

The intermediate region from 38 to 41 degrees was open to both companies, and to prevent collision, each was to possess the soil extending fifty miles north and south of its first settlement. Thus, neither company could plant within one hundred miles of a colony of its rival.

The patent also empowered the companies to transport to the colonies as many English subjects as should be willing to accompany them, who with their descendants were to retain the same liberties, within any other dominions of the crown of England as if they had remained or were born within the realm. The land of the colonies was to be held on the condition of homage to the crown, and a rent consisting of one-fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one-fifth of the copper which might be taken from the mines to be discovered. The right of coining money was also conferred on the colonies.

The government of the colony, the king retained as much as was possible in his own hands; for it was one of his foibles, to imagine that he possessed the most consummate skill, not only in the construction of laws, but in the policy of government.

Accordingly the superintendence of the whole colonial system was placed in the hand of a council in England; and the administration of affairs in each colony was confided to a council residing within its limits. The king reserved to himself and his successors the right of appointing the members of the superior council, and of causing those of the colonial councils to be ordained or removed according to his own instructions. He also took upon himself the task, so agreeable to his vanity, of framing a code of laws both general and particular.

Thus the legislative and executive powers were all virtually reserved to the crown of England. 'At this time,' says a late writer, 'the English were accustomed to the arbitrary rule of their monarchs, and the limits of the royal prerogative were unknown. It was either not perceived, or not attended to, that by placing the legislative and executive powers in a council nominated by the king, every settler in America was deprived of the chief privilege of a freeman—that of giving his voice in the election of those who frame the laws which he is to observe, and impose the taxes which he is to pay.'

By the code of laws, which the king prepared, it was provided that the superior council in England might name the colonial council, with power to elect its own officers and fill its own vacancies. The religion of the church of England was established for the colony. Lands were to descend by the common law. Murder, sedition, and some other crimes were punishable by death after trial by jury. But civil causes, requiring corporeal punishment, were decided by the council, which was also empowered to enact such additional laws as the condition of the colony might require. Commerce with foreign nations was not restrained either by the terms of the patent or the laws.

Such were the regulations under which the patentees proceeded to the arduous task of founding a colony at the distance of three thousand miles from the mother country, in a region filled with powerful tribes of savages, who, if they should at first receive them as friendly visitors, would not be slow to discover that their occupation of the soil was dangerous to themselves and their posterity.

Having procured their charter, the patentees proceeded to fit out a squadron of three small vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons burden, bearing one hundred and five men destined to remain. This squadron was placed under the command of Captain Newport; and sailed from England on the 19th of December, 1606, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the continent by Cabot.

Among the emigrants were some gentlemen of distinguished families, particularly Mr. Percy, brother to the earl of Northumberland; but there was a great deficiency of artisans, mechanics and labourers, so absolutely necessary in a new settlement, and none of the men brought families with them, which at the present day we should consider quite essential to the success of such an enterprise. On the voyage, dissensions arose; and as king James had concealed the names and instructions of the council in a box, which was not to be opened till their arrival, no one could assume the authority necessary to repress disorders. Smith on account of his superior merit and ability was particularly obnoxious to the other adventurers.

Captain Newport pursued the old track by the way of the Canaries and the West Indies, and, as he turned to the north, he was carried by a severe storm beyond Roanoke, whither he had been ordered, into Chesapeake bay. Having discovered

and named Cape Henry and Cape Charles in honour of the King's sons, he sailed up the noble bay. All the company were filled with admiration of its extent, the fertility of its shores and the magnificent features of the surrounding scenery.

They soon entered the river Powhatan, which in honour of the king was called James river, and after seventeen days search, fixed upon the peninsula of Jamestown, about fifty miles above the mouth of the stream, as a suitable site for the colony. They landed on the thirteenth of May, 1607; and having learnt from the papers contained in the king's box, who were the appointed members of the council, that body elected Wingfield for their president, and excluded Captain Smith from their number on a charge of sedition.

A few huts were raised to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, and a small fort for defence against the natives. A part of the men were employed in cutting timber and loading the ships for England, while Newport and Smith with a small party ascended the river and visited the Indian king, Powhatan, in his capital, which consisted of twelve wigwams. His subjects regarded the English as intruders, but the king himself manifested a friendly disposition.

In a month, Newport set sail for England, and then the difficulties of the colonists began to be apparent. Their provisions were spoiled, and the climate was soon found to be as uncongenial to European constitutions as the wild country was to their idle and dissipated habits. During the summer nearly every man was sick, and before autumn fifty of their number had died. Among them was Gosnold, the original projector of the settlement, and one of the ablest and best men in the council.

The incapacity and dissensions of the council made it necessary to confide the management of affairs to Captain Smith, whose energy and prudence soon revived the hopes of the colonists. In the autumn the Indians brought them a supply of provisions; and an abundance of wild fowl and game was found in the woods.

It had been enjoined upon them, by the London company, to explore some stream running from the north-west, in hopes of finding a passage to the Pacific Ocean; and Smith, with probably very little expectation of making such a discovery, obeyed this injunction, by sailing up the Chickahominy as far as he could in boats; and then, to gratify his own fondness for adventure and research, he landed and proceeded into the

interior. The party was surprised by the Indians, and all but Smith were put to death.

In this emergency the self possession and courage of this remarkable man preserved his life. Taking out a pocket compass, he showed it to the Indians, explained to them its wonderful properties; and amused and astonished them by such ideas as he was able to convey of the system of the universe. They already believed him a superior being, and granted him the permission which he desired, to send a letter to his friends at Jamestown. The effect of this letter made him a still greater object of wonder. He was conducted through their villages and finally brought to the king Powhatan, who, after detaining him some time, would have put him to death, if his daughter Pocahontas, a child of twelve years old, had not rushed between him and the executioner, and begged her father to spare his life. At her intercession he was saved.

The Indians now sought to attach him to themselves, and gain his assistance in destroying the colony; but he had sufficient address to induce them to abandon this hostile design, and permit his return. This event was followed by a better understanding, and a more frequent intercourse between the Indians and his countrymen.

On his return to Jamestown, Smith found but forty of the colonists alive, and a part of these were preparing to desert with the pinnace. This he prevented at the peril of his life. Soon after Newport arrived with a supply of provisions and instruments of husbandry, and a reinforcement of one hundred persons, composed of many gentlemen, several refiners, goldsmiths, and jewellers, and a few labourers. The hopes of the colonists were revived by this seasonable relief.

Not long after their arrival, there was unfortunately, discovered in a small stream of water near Jamestown, some shining earth which was easily mistaken for gold dust. This was a signal for abandoning all the profitable pursuits of industry in the search for gold. 'There was no thought,' says Stith, in his history, 'no discourse, no hope, and no work, but to dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, and load gold. And notwithstanding Captain Smith's warm and judicious representations, how absurd it was to neglect other things of immediate use and necessity, to load such a drunken ship with gilded dust, yet was he overruled, and her returns were made in a parcel of glittering dirt, which is to be found in various parts of the

country, and which they, very sanguinely, concluded to be gold dust.'

Finding himself unable to prevent this folly, Smith employed himself in surveying the Chesapeake bay and its tributary rivers. The two voyages which he made in an open boat for this purpose, lasted three months, and embraced a navigation of nearly three thousand miles. The map which he delineated and sent to the London company still exists, and presents correctly the great natural features of the country which he explored.

On his return, (Sept. 10, 1608,) Smith was made president of the council, and was performing the duties of that office with his usual energy and good judgment, when Newport returned with seventy emigrants, two of whom were females. They were not the description of persons required in a new country; and Smith entreated the company to send him, rather 'but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, than a thousand such as they had.'

After the departure of the ships, Smith exerted himself to bring the people into industrious habits; requiring them to work six hours in the day; but they were still so unskilful in agriculture, that the principal dependence of the colony for provisions was on the Indians. The number of deaths during the season was only seven out of a population of two hundred.

The company in England had anticipated great and sudden wealth from the discovery of mines, as well as from its commerce with India, which they expected their ships to reach by sailing up the Chesapeake and its tributary rivers. Although disappointed in these sanguine hopes, they were by no means discouraged from pursuing their career of adventure; and in order to increase their funds, their numbers, and their privileges, they petitioned for a new charter, which was granted on the 23d of May, 1609. It was not more favourable to civil liberty than that which it superseded.

The change which now took place in the constitution of the colony was a remarkable one. The new charter gave to the company the powers which had previously belonged to the king. The council in Virginia was abolished. The stockholders were allowed to choose the supreme council, resident in England, and to exercise the powers of legislation and government. The governor was subject to their instructions, but might rule the colonists even in criminal and capital cases

without any other control. He might even declare martial law, whenever he should deem it necessary for the suppression of mutiny and rebellion. The people were thus deprived of all power of self government. They were entirely at the mercy of the company in London; holding their fortunes and their lives, subject to the control of masters who could be but imperfectly acquainted with their condition and wants.

The territory of the colony was extended by a grant of all the lands from Cape or Point Comfort along the sea coast, two hundred miles to the northward, and from the same point, along the sea coast two hundred miles to the southward, and up into the land, throughout, from sea to sea, west and north-west, and also all islands lying within one hundred miles of the coast of both seas. By placing a pair of dividers over the map of the United States with one foot on the coast two hundred miles south of Old Point Comfort, and the other two hundred miles north of the same point, and drawing the instrument across the continent to the Pacific Ocean, one may satisfy himself that the territory of the Ancient Dominion was pretty extensive.

At the time when this charter was granted, the company was enlarged by the addition of some of the first nobility and gentry, most of the companies in London, and a great number of merchants and tradesmen; and they were all incorporated by the name of 'The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first colony in Virginia.'

The scheme of colonisation was now exceedingly popular in England. Great numbers of adventurers offered themselves to the company; and the highest enthusiasm prevailed among all classes of people, in favour of rendering the settlement permanent and effective. Lord Delaware was constituted governor and captain-general for life, with a retinue of officers and attendants, which would have been more suitable for a viceroy of Mexico, at a much later period of history.

Nine ships and five hundred emigrants were soon ready for departure; and the expedition was placed under the direction of Captain Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was empowered to supersede the existing administration and govern the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware.

These three gentlemen embarked in the same vessel, which was parted from the rest of the fleet and driven on Bermuda in a storm; having on board not only the appointed directors

of the colony, but one hundred and fifty men, a great portion of the provisions and the new commission and instructions of the council. The rest of the fleet arrived safely in Virginia.

'A great part of the new company,' according to the authority of an old writer, 'consisted of unruly sparks, packed off by their friends to escape worse destinies at home. And the rest were chiefly made up of poor gentlemen, broken tradesmen, footmen, and such as were much fitter to spoil and ruin a commonwealth than to help to raise or maintain one. They were led by their seditious captains into many mischiefs and extravagances. They assumed to themselves the power of disposing of the government, and conferred it sometimes on one, and sometimes on another. To-day the old commission must rule, to-morrow the new, and next day neither. So that all was anarchy and distraction.'

These disorders were speedily repressed by the energy and decision of Captain Smith. He declared, very justly, that his own authority could only terminate with the arrival of the new commission, and resolved to continue its exercise. He imprisoned the most active of the seditious leaders, and to rid Jamestown of the turbulent rabble with which it was crowded, he detached one hundred men to the falls of James river, under the command of West, and as many more to Nansemond under that of Martin. These settlers soon incurred the hostility of the Indians, and were obliged to apply to Smith for assistance. Of course it was promptly rendered. On his return from one of his visits to the settlement at the falls, he was so severely wounded by an explosion of gunpowder, as to render it necessary for him to proceed to England for surgical aid.

At his departure the colony consisted of about five hundred people. They possessed three ships and seven boats, commodities suitable for the Indian trade, provisions for several weeks, an abundance of domestic animals, farming utensils, and fishing nets, one hundred disciplined soldiers, and twenty-four pieces of ordnance, with small arms and ammunition.

This provision was every way adequate for support and defence, had the prudent administration of Captain Smith continued; but with him departed the fair prospects of the colony. The licentious spirits, who had only been restrained by his energy, now rioted without control. Captain Percy, who succeeded him, was by no means equal to the task of governing so turbulent a community, and anarchy soon prevailed.

The Indians, no longer restrained by the presence of Smith, became hostile. They attacked the settlements of West and Martin, and compelled them, after losing their boats and half their men, to take refuge in Jamestown. The provisions of the colony were exhausted; and famine ensued with its attendant horrors and crimes. This was the most trying period in the history of the colony, and was for many years after distinguished by the name of *The Starving Time*.

Contrasted with that of the administration of Smith, the history of this season conveys a most impressive lesson. It shows us that no abundance of resources can supply the place of prudence in the management of affairs; and that a large supply of provisions, arms, and soldiers, are not so essential to the preservation and welfare of a community as a wise and efficient government. The commanding genius of Smith had done more for the establishment and continuance of the colony than the exertions of all the other adventurers. But he fought and toiled only for the community.

‘Extreme suffering from his wounds, and the ingratitude of his employers,’ says Mr. Bancroft, ‘were the fruits of his services. He received for his sacrifices and his perilous exertions, not one foot of land, not the house he himself had built, not the field his own hands had planted, nor any reward but the applause of his conscience and the world. He merits to be called the father of the settlement, which he had repeatedly rescued from destruction. His judgment had ever been clear in the midst of general despondency. He united the highest spirit of adventure with consummate powers of action. His courage and self-possession accomplished what others esteemed desperate. Fruitful in expedients, he was prompt in execution. Though he had been harassed by the persecutions of malignant envy, he never revived the memory of the faults of his enemies. He was accustomed to lead, not to send his men to danger; would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay. He had nothing counterfeit in his nature; but was open, honest, and sincere. He clearly discerned, that it was the true interest of England not to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth, but to enforce regular industry. “Nothing,” said he, “is to be expected thence, but by labour.”’

In six months after the departure of Smith, the colony was reduced by their various distresses to sixty persons, who would soon have perished, but for the arrival of Sir Thomas

Gates, Sir George Somers, and Captain Newport, from Bermuda, (May 24, 1610). All determined to abandon the country, and they accordingly embarked on board the vessels and sailed for England. As they drew near the mouth of the river, they were met by the long boat of Lord Delaware, who had arrived on the coast with a reinforcement of emigrants, and abundant supplies of provisions. They immediately returned to Jamestown, and were prevailed on by Lord Delaware to remain.

This nobleman was well qualified for his station. His mildness, dignity, and diligent attention to business, soon restored order, and inspired confidence. The colonists were regular and industrious; and the Indians were taught once more to respect the English character.

His wise administration was of short continuance. Ill health compelled him to relinquish the government; and having resigned his authority to Mr. Percy, he sailed for the West Indies. Although he left the colony in a flourishing state, yet, on the 10th of May, 1611, when Sir Thomas Dale, the new governor, arrived with a fresh supply of men and provisions, he found it relapsing into its former state of idleness, disorder and want. He was obliged to resort to the declaration of martial law in order to save the settlement from utter anarchy and ruin.

In the month of August, 1611, Sir Thomas Gates, who had been appointed the successor of Sir Thomas Dale, arrived with six ships, three hundred emigrants, and a plentiful supply of provisions. On receiving this reinforcement, which increased the numbers of the colony to seven hundred, detachments were again sent up the James river, and several settlements made.

A more important change took place in the new arrangements with respect to property. Hitherto the land had been possessed by all the colonists in common. Every man was required to work a certain number of hours in the day, and all shared equally the produce. Now a few acres of ground were assigned to each man, as his private property, to plant as an orchard or garden for his own use, though some labour was still devoted to fill the public stores. This new regulation gave a powerful impulse to industry and enterprise; and the best effects were soon perceived to flow from assigning to each individual the fruits of his own labour. Industry, impelled by the certainty of recompense, advanced with rapid

strides; and the inhabitants were no longer in fear of wanting bread, either for themselves or for the emigrants from England.

In consequence of the extravagant accounts, which had been sent to England, of the fertility of Bermudas, the company became anxious to include it within the colony; and accordingly a new patent was issued comprehending this island. This was a matter of trifling importance, as the connection soon ceased; but the new patent conferred new civil rights; it established four general courts, comprising all the members of the London corporation, to be assembled annually, at which all officers should be elected, and all laws passed relating to the government, commerce, and real estate of the colony. Weekly or more frequent meetings might be convened for the transaction of ordinary business. This change, of course, gave no political power to the colonists themselves.

Lotteries, the first ever drawn in England, were granted for the benefit of the colony. They brought twenty-nine thousand pounds into the treasury of the company; but were soon abolished as a public evil.

About this time (1614) an event took place which has always been regarded with great interest by the Virginians. This was the marriage of Pocahontas. The circumstances which led to it were these: A party from Jamestown, headed by Argall, went with two vessels round to the Potomac for a cargo of corn. While obtaining the cargo, Argall managed to decoy Pocahontas on board his vessel, where she was detained respectfully, and brought to Jamestown. By keeping possession of his favourite child as a hostage, the English hoped to dictate what terms of alliance or submission they pleased to Powhatan. In this they were disappointed. 'Powhatan,' says Marshall, 'offered corn and friendship, if they would restore his daughter, but, with a loftiness of spirit which claims respect, rejected every proposition for conciliation which should not be preceded by that act of reparation.'

While she was detained at Jamestown, Mr. John Rolfe, a young Englishman, gained the favour of the princess, and desired her in marriage. Powhatan consented, and with his daughter the noble spirited prince gave his heart. He was ever after the firm and sincere friend of the colony. The powerful tribe of the Chickahominies also 'sought the friendship of the English, and demanded to be called Englishmen.'

Though the marriage of Pocahontas was hailed as an aus-

picious event at the time, and has always been celebrated in the annals of the colony, it never operated as an example. The English and Indians would not intermarry, and the races have always remained distinct.

It was in 1613 that the famous expedition of Argall took place, which seems to have been prompted by a determination on the part of the English to assert their claim to the whole coast of America north of Virginia. In a time of profound peace, Argall sailed from Jamestown to Acadia (Nova Scotia) and surprised the small colony at Port Royal on the bay of Fundy. This was the oldest Christian settlement in North America, having been founded, as we have already observed, in 1605. He found the inhabitants engaged in their peaceful occupations, and in amity with the natives. They were of course totally unprepared for defence, and could not prevent Argall from seizing the ships and plundering the colony. This was the first act of aggression, which was followed by a series of disputes between France and England for the possession of the American soil. After Argall had sailed, the French returned to their settlement.

Argall, on his return, went into New York, then called New Amsterdam, where the Dutch had established a small colony, and by a show of superior force compelled the Dutch governor to submit 'himself and his colony to the king of England, and the governor of Virginia under him,' and to consent to the payment of a tribute. Argall then returned to Jamestown. The tribute and homage, however, were both refused, when a new governor had arrived from Holland, with better means of defence.

The culture of tobacco was now, for the first time, becoming an object of attention. Although the use of it was strongly opposed by the company, and by king James I., who went so far as to write a book against it; and although the effects of it were always unpleasant at first, to persons not accustomed to it, tobacco has surmounted all opposition, and become a regular article of commerce and consumption throughout the world.

In 1614, Sir Thomas Gates had been succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale, who sailed for England in 1616, and was succeeded by Mr. George Yeardley. His term of office lasted but one year, and he was then succeeded by Captain Argall, an able but avaricious and tyrannical governor. He continued martial law in time of peace; and having sentenced Mr.

Brewster to death for contumely, gave occasion to the first appeal ever made from America to England. It came before the London company, by whom the sentence of Argall was reversed.

The following extract from Judge Marshall's history, shows the arbitrary and vexatious nature of the laws which this governor enforced at the point of the bayonet :

‘While martial law was, according to Stith, the common law of the land, the governor seems to have been the sole legislator. His general edicts mark the severity of his rule. He ordered that merchandise should be sold at an advance of twenty-five per centum, and tobacco taken in payment at the rate of three shillings per pound, under the penalty of three years’ servitude to the company; that no person should traffic privately with the Indians, or teach them the use of fire arms, under pain of death; that no person should hunt deer or hogs without the governor’s permission; that no man should shoot, unless in his own necessary defence, until a new supply of ammunition should arrive, on pain of a year’s personal service; that none should go on board the ships at Jamestown, without the governor’s leave; that every person should go to church on Sundays and holidays, under the penalty of slavery during the following week for the first offence, during a month for the second, and during a year and a day for the third. The rigour of this administration necessarily exciting much discontent, the complaints of the Virginians at length made their way to the company. Lord Delaware being dead, Mr. Yeardley was appointed captain-general, with instructions to examine the wrongs of the colonists, and to redress them.’

CHAPTER VI.

VIRGINIA ACQUIRES CIVIL FREEDOM.

THE new governor arrived in April, 1619; and began his administration by granting privileges of great importance to the colonists. He abolished the practice of labouring for the common stock of the colony, a most inconvenient and onerous method of raising a revenue; he confirmed the early planters in the possession of their estates; he removed the

burdens imposed by the tyrannical Argall ; and he abolished martial law.

By order of the London company, the power of the governor was limited by a council, which acquired the right to redress any wrongs which he might commit. Last, and greatest of all, the people of the colony were admitted to a share in legislation by the institution of a COLONIAL ASSEMBLY.

The first colonial assembly ever convened in America assembled at Jamestown, on the 19th of June, 1619. This may, therefore, be considered the birth-day of civil freedom in our country.

The members were elected by the different boroughs, and the representative or popular branch of the legislature was therefore called the House of Burgesses, a name which it retained so long as Virginia remained a colony of England.

The entire legislature or assembly, composed of the governor, the council, and the burgesses, met together in one apartment, and there transacted the public business of the colony. The laws which they then enacted were sent to England for the approbation of the London company.

Hitherto but a small number of females had emigrated to Virginia. The colonists, therefore, could hardly be said to have their home in the country. Those domestic ties, which attach men most firmly to the soil they inhabit, did not exist ; and each man directed his thoughts towards the mother country, as the retreat of his old age. A new state of things now ensued, by the arrival of a large number of females, ninety of whom were sent out from England in 1620, and sixty more the next year. Being persons of irreproachable character they were married by the planters ; and the colony thus acquired the best of all guarantees of permanence in its institutions and patriotism in its citizens.

The necessity of establishing seminaries of learning was now apparent, and preparations were made for founding the college afterwards established by William and Mary.

About the same time one hundred convicts were transported from England to Virginia, being the first persons of this class sent to America by order of the government. Removed from the temptations which had been too strong for their virtue at home, and placed in a new scene of action, many of them became honest men and useful citizens.

The colonial assembly convened by Sir George Yeardley had not yet received the express sanction of the London

company. This was granted July 24th, 1621, by an ordinance which may be considered as the written constitution of the colony. It was the model on which, with some modifications, the political systems of the other colonies were founded. It provided for the appointment of a governor and a permanent council by the company; it ordained a general assembly, consisting of this council, and two burgesses from each borough to be elected by the people, with power to enact laws subject to the *veto* of the governor and the ratification of the company in England. Orders of the court in London were not to be binding on the colony, unless ratified by the general assembly—a very important concession. The trial by jury, and the other judicial rights of Englishmen, were also granted to the colonists. This constitution was brought over by Sir Francis Wyatt, who had been appointed to succeed governor Yeardley.

Thus the Virginians had acquired civil freedom. The rights, secured by this, their fourth charter, were sufficient to form the basis of complete political liberty. Representative government and trial by jury are justly regarded as the elements of freedom; and when a community has acquired these, its future destinies depend, in great measure, on the virtue, intelligence, and patriotism of its citizens.

The year 1620, so fruitful in interesting events, was marked by one which will long exert a momentous influence on our destinies. This was the introduction of negro slavery. The commerce of Virginia, which had before been entirely monopolized by the London company, was now thrown open to free competition; and in the month of August, a Dutch man of war sailed up the James river, and landed twenty negroes, for the purpose of having them sold into slavery. Although domestic slavery was thus introduced into the colony, its increase was very slow; the traffic in slaves was almost entirely confined to the Dutch; and laws of the colony discouraged its progress by taxation.

At this period the colony was in a highly flourishing state. The inhabitants enjoyed civil rights, free commerce, peace, and domestic happiness. The cultivation of tobacco and cotton, hereafter to become so important to the southern country, had already been introduced; and the Indians, their most powerful neighbours, were their friends and allies. Indeed, they had never regarded the Indians with much apprehension. They were not supposed to be very nume-

rous; only five thousand souls or fifteen hundred warriors being found within sixty miles of Jamestown; and the use of fire-arms by the English had enabled fifteen of them, headed by Smith, to put to flight seven hundred of the savages. They were therefore regarded with contempt; and no care was taken to preserve their friendship, or guard against their enmity. A law, which had made it penal to instruct them in the use of fire-arms, had become a dead letter.

Security is too often the parent of danger. In the present instance, it was the cause of a terrible calamity. The Indians had secretly become hostile to the colonists. Powhatan, the old king, had died in 1618; and his son, Opechancanough, did not inherit the friendly dispositions of his father. A deliberate plan was concerted for annihilating the colony at a blow, and it nearly succeeded.

The story is thus told by an old writer:—

‘Upon the loss of one of their leading men (a war captain, as they call him,) who was supposed to be justly put to death, however, their king, Oppaconcanough, appeared enraged, and in revenge laid the plot of a general massacre of the English, to be executed on the 22nd of March, 1622, a little before noon, at a time when our men were all at work abroad in their plantations, dispersed and unarmed. This conspiracy was to have taken effect upon all the several settlements at one and the same instant, except on the eastern shore, whither this plot did not reach. The Indians had been made so familiar with the English as to borrow their boats and canoes to cross the river, when they went to consult with their neighbouring Indians upon this execrable conspiracy, and to colour their designs the better, they brought presents of deer, turkeys, fish, and fruits, to the English, the evening before. The very morning of the massacre, they came freely and unarmed among them, eating with them, and behaving themselves with the same freedom and friendship as formerly, till the very minute they were to put their plot in execution; then they fell to work all at once, everywhere surprising and knocking the English on the head, some with their hatchets, which they call tomahawks, others with the hoes and axes of the English themselves, shooting at those who escaped the reach of their hands; sparing neither age nor sex, but destroying man, woman, and child, according to their cruel way of leaving none behind to resent the outrage. But whatever

was not done by surprise that day, was left undone, and many that made early resistance escaped.

‘By the account taken of the Christians murdered that morning, they were found to be three hundred and forty-seven, most of them falling by their own instruments and working tools.

‘The massacre would have been much more general had not the plot been providentially discovered to the English some hours before the execution. It happened thus:—

‘Two Indians, that used to be employed by the English to hunt for them, happened to lie together the night before the massacre in an Englishman’s house, where one of them was employed. The Indian that was the guest fell to persuading the other to rise and kill his master, telling him that he would do the same by his own the next day; whereupon he discovered the whole plot that was designed to be executed on the morrow. But the other, instead of entering into the plot and murdering his master, got up (under pretence of going to execute his comrade’s advice), went into his master’s chamber and revealed to him the whole story that he had been told. The master hereupon arose, secured his own house, and before day got to Jamestown, which, together with such plantations as could receive notice time enough, were saved by this means; the rest, also, who happened to be watchful in their defence, escaped. Captain Croshaw, in his vessel at Pawtomack, had notice given him by a young Indian, by which means he came off untouched.

‘The occasion of Oppaconcanough’s furious resentment was this:—The war captain, mentioned before to have been killed, was called Nemattanow. He was an active Indian, a great warrior, and in much esteem among them; insomuch that they believed him to be invulnerable and immortal, because he had been in many conflicts, and escaped untouched from them all. He was also a very cunning fellow, and took great pride in preserving and increasing this their superstition concerning him; affecting everything that was odd and prodigious to work upon their admiration; for which purpose he would often dress himself up with feathers, after a fantastic manner, and, by much use of that ornament, obtained among the English the nickname of Jack-of-the-Feather.

‘This Nemattanow, coming to a private settlement of one Morgan, who had several toys, he had a mind to persuade

him to go to Pamunky to dispose of them. He gave him hopes what mighty bargains he might meet with there; and kindly offered him his assistance. At last Morgan yielded to his persuasion, but was no more heard of; and it is believed that Nemattanow killed him by the way, and took away his treasure; for, within a few days, this Nemattanow returned to the same house with Morgan's cap upon his head, where he found two sturdy boys, who asked for their master, and would have had him before a justice of the peace, but he refused to go, and very insolently abused them; whereupon they shot him down, and as they were carrying him to the governor, he died.

'As he was dying, he earnestly pressed the boys to promise him two things: 1st, that they would not tell how he was killed; and, 2ndly, that they would bury him among the English. So great was the pride of this vain infidel, that he had no other views but the being esteemed after his death (as he had endeavoured to be while he was alive) invulnerable and immortal, though his increasing faintness sufficiently convinced him of the falsity of both. He imagined that being buried among the English, perhaps, might conceal his death from his own nation, who might think him translated to some happier country. Thus he pleased himself to the last gasp with the boys' promises to carry on the delusion. The killing this Indian champion was all the provocation given to that haughty and revengeful man, Oppaconcanough, to act this bloody tragedy, and to take such indefatigable pains to engage in such horrid villany all the kings and nations bordering upon the English settlement on the western shore of Chesapeake.'

The effects of this massacre were highly disastrous to the colony. It restricted the pursuits of agriculture, and occasioned the abandonment of most of the settlements, so that from eighty they were reduced to six or seven in number. Sickness was the consequence of crowding many people into a few small settlements, and some of the colonists were so far discouraged as to return to England.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIAN WAR—DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

THIS treachery of the Indians was terribly revenged. The whole people were intent on the means of destroying so merciless an enemy. The men took arms. A war of extermination was commenced against the Indians, in which neither old nor young were spared. That elegant historian, Dr. Robertson, thus describes this relentless war:—

‘The conduct of the Spaniards, in the southern regions of America, was openly proposed as the most proper model to imitate; and regardless, like them, of those principles of faith, honour, and humanity, which regulate hostility among civilised nations, and set bounds to its rage, the English deemed everything allowable that tended to accomplish their design. They hunted the Indians like wild beasts rather than enemies; and as the pursuit of them to their places of retreat in the woods, which covered their country, was both difficult and dangerous, they endeavoured to allure them from their inaccessible fastness by offers of peace and promises of oblivion, made with such an artful appearance of sincerity as deceived their crafty leader, and induced them to return to their former settlements, and resume their usual peaceful occupations. (1623.) The behaviour of the two people seemed now to be perfectly reversed. The Indians, like men acquainted with the principles of integrity and good faith, on which the intercourse between nations is founded, confided in the reconciliation, and lived in absolute security without suspicion of danger; while the English, with perfidious craft, were preparing to imitate the savages in their revenge and cruelty. On the approach of harvest, when they knew a hostile attack would be most formidable and fatal, they fell suddenly upon all the Indian plantations, murdered every person on whom they could lay hold, and drove the rest to the woods, where so many perished with hunger, that some of the tribes nearest to the English were totally extirpated. This atrocious deed, which the perpetrators laboured to represent as a necessary act of retaliation, was followed by some happy effects. It delivered the co-

lony so entirely from any dread of the Indians, that its settlements began again to extend, and its industry to revive.'

While these events were passing in Virginia, the London company was rapidly hastening towards its final dissolution. This body had become very numerous, and its meetings furnished occasion for discussions on government and legislation, which were by no means pleasing to so arbitrary a sovereign as James I. Having sought in vain to give the court party the ascendancy in the company, he began to charge the disasters and the want of commercial success in the colony to the mismanagement of the corporation.

Commissioners were appointed by the privy council to inquire into the affairs of Virginia from its earliest settlement. These commissioners seized the charters, books, and papers of the company, and intercepted all letters from the colony. Their report was unfavourable to the corporation, who were accordingly summoned, by the king, to surrender their charter. This being declined, the cause was brought before the Court of King's Bench, and decided against them. The company was dissolved, and its powers reverted to the king.

More than one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling had been expended on the colony, and nine thousand emigrants had been sent out to people it; yet the annual imports from it did not exceed twenty thousand pounds, and the number of inhabitants was only eighteen hundred.

While the controversy between the king and the company was going forward, the colonists were continuing to exercise the right of self-government. The general assembly met in February, 1624. Their most important act was a solemn declaration, 'that the governor should not impose any taxes on the colony, otherwise than by authority of the general assembly; and that he should not withdraw the inhabitants from their private labour to any service of his own.' Other measures for the protection of the colonists against arbitrary power were passed; and 'the laws of that session generally,' says Judge Marshall, 'are marked with that good sense and patriotism which are to be expected from men perfectly understanding their own situation, and legislating for themselves.'

They resisted the attempt of the royal commissioners to extort from them a declaration of unlimited submission to the king; but transmitted a petition to him praying for a confirmation of the civil rights then enjoyed, together with the sole importation of tobacco. They also petitioned to

have the direction of any military force which the king might station in the country. All the acts of this assembly indicate a remarkable progress of the colonists in the knowledge and appreciation of their civil rights.

King James I. was not disposed to yield up a second time the unlimited control of the colony. He issued a special commission, appointing a governor and twelve councillors, to whom the entire direction of the affairs of the province was committed. He did not recognise the assembly as a part of the government; but attributing the late disasters to the influence of that body, he determined on its discontinuance. He granted to Virginia and the Somers Isles (Bermuda) the exclusive right of importing tobacco into England and Ireland, as had been desired, but totally disregarded the wishes of the colonists respecting the continuance of their civil freedom. His death prevented the completion of a code of laws, in which he proposed to carry out his favourite principles of government.

Charles I. inherited the arbitrary disposition and despotic principles of his father. He appears, however, to have attached very little importance to the political condition of Virginia. His principal aim was to derive profit from their industry. He neither granted nor restricted franchises; but his first act was to confirm the exclusive trade in tobacco to Virginia and the Somers Isles, and his next was to proclaim himself, 'through his agents, the sole factor of the planters.'

Sir George Yeardley was the successor of governor Wyatt: (1626.) The assemblies were, of course, continued under the administration of the man who had first introduced them. The king did not disturb the Virginians in the exercise of this important civil right. Emigrants continued to arrive in great numbers, and the agriculture and commerce of the colony were in a most flourishing state.

On the death of governor Yeardley, which took place in November, 1627, the council elected Francis West to succeed him. During his administration, the king proposed to the assembly to contract for the whole crop of tobacco; but this attempt to monopolise the chief staple of the colony was met by a decided refusal.

In 1629, John Harvey, the governor who had been commissioned by the king, on the decease of Yeardley, arrived in Virginia. He had formerly resided in the colony, and was personally unpopular. A strong party was formed in oppo-

sition to him, and when, in some dispute about land titles, he was found to favour the court, in opposition to the interests of the colonies, he was removed from the government, and West appointed in his place. He subsequently consented to go to England, with two commissioners on the part of the colonists, in order that their complaints might be heard by the king.

Instead of listening to them, Charles reappointed Harvey, who remained in office till 1639. He has been stigmatised by most of the old historians as a tyrant; but it does not appear that he attempted to deprive the colonists of any of their civil rights. The assemblies were continued as before, and exercised all the powers which they had acquired in Yeardley's time.

Harvey's successor was Sir Francis Wyatt, who continued in office till Feb. 1642, when Sir William Berkeley, having been appointed to succeed him, arrived and assumed the government. He recognised and confirmed the privileges which the Virginians had previously enjoyed, and received the cordial support of all parties. Some abuses in the construction and administration of the laws were reformed. Religion was provided for; the mode of assessing taxes was changed for a more equitable one; and the people, under this able and popular governor, enjoyed their liberties without disturbance from any quarter.

We must not omit to mention an order of the assembly establishing Episcopacy as the religion of the colony; and banishing all non-conforming ministers. Missionaries from New England, who had come on, for the purpose of preaching to the puritan settlements in Virginia, were silenced and ordered to leave the colony. This intolerance was in accordance with the spirit of the age; and examples of a similar character were not wanting in the history of Massachusetts.

In 1644, the Indians, against whom a hostile spirit had been kept up since the great massacre of 1622, made a sudden attack upon the frontier settlements, and killed about three hundred persons, before they were repulsed. An active warfare was immediately commenced against the savages, and their king, the aged Opechancanough, was made prisoner, and died in captivity. The country was soon placed in a state of perfect security against further aggressions from that quarter. In 1646, a treaty, accompanied with a cession of lands, was concluded between the inhabitants of Virginia and Necontowanee, the successor of Opechancanough.

The colony was now in a flourishing state. Its commerce had increased, so that upwards of thirty ships were engaged in the traffic with different ports in New England and Europe. The inhabitants, in 1648, had increased to twenty thousand.

In the dispute between Charles I. and the parliament of England, Virginia espoused the cause of the king; and when the republicans had obtained the ascendancy, a fleet was fitted out from England, for the purpose of reducing the colony to submission.

In the mean time, an ordinance of parliament, of 1650, which forbade all intercourse between the loyal colonies and foreign countries, was rigorously enforced, as well as the act of 1651, which secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England. When the fleet arrived, commissioners were instructed to reduce the colony to submission. It was found that parliament offered to the colonists, provided they would adhere to the commonwealth, all the liberties of Englishmen; with an amnesty for their past loyalty to the deposed king, and, 'as free trade as the people of England.' On the other hand, war was threatened in case of resistance.

The Virginians, with their accustomed gallantry, 'refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed, and a mutual compact.' All the rights of self-government, formerly enjoyed, were again guaranteed. Richard Bennet, who had been one of the commissioners of parliament, was elected governor, and Berkeley retired to private life.

In 1655, and 1658, the assembly of burgesses exercised the right of electing and removing the governor of the colony; and on occasion of receiving intelligence of the death of Cromwell, they were careful to re-assert this right, and require the governor, Matthews, to acknowledge it, in order, as they said, 'that what was their privilege now, might be the privilege of their posterity.'

On the death of Matthews, the government of England being in an unsettled state, the assembly elected Sir William Berkeley for governor; and, as he refused to act, under the usurped authority of the parliament, the colonists boldly raised the royal standard, and proclaimed Charles the Second, as their lawful sovereign. This was an act of great temerity, as it fairly challenged the whole power of Great Britain. The distracted state of that country saved the Virginians from its consequences, until the restoration of Charles to the British throne gave them a claim to his gratitude, as the last among his subjects to renounce, and the first to return to, their allegiance.

CHAPTER VIII.

VIRGINIA AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THE intelligence of the restoration was received with enthusiasm in Virginia. It naturally excited high hopes of favour, which were increased by the expressions of esteem and gratitude, which Charles found no difficulty in addressing to the colonists. These hopes they were, for a short time, permitted to indulge. The assembly introduced many important changes in judicial proceedings; trial by jury was restored; the Church of England, which of course had lost its supremacy during the protectorate, was again established by law; and the introduction of Quakers into the colony was made a penal offence.

The principles of government, which prevailed in England during the reign of Charles II., were extended to the colonies, which were now considered as subject to the legislation of parliament, and bound by its acts. The effects of this new state of things, were first perceived in the restrictions on commerce. Retaining the commercial system of the Long Parliament, the new house of commons determined to render the trade of the colonies exclusively subservient to English commerce and navigation. One of their first acts was to vote a duty of five per cent. on all merchandise exported from, or imported into, any of the dominions belonging to the crown. This was speedily followed by the famous '*Navigation Act*,' the most memorable statute in the English commercial code.

By this law, among other things, it was enacted, that no commodities should be imported into any British settlement in Asia, Africa, or America, or exported from them, but in vessels built in England, or the plantations, and navigated by crews, of which the master and three-fourths of the mariners, should be English subjects, under the penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo; that none but natural born subjects, or such as had been naturalised, should exercise the occupation of merchant or factor, in any English settlement, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods and chattels; that no sugar, tobacco, cotton, wool, indigo, ginger, or woods used in dyeing, produced or manufactured in the colonies, should be shipped from them

to any other country than England; and to secure the observance of this regulation, the owners were required, before sailing, to give bonds, with surety, for sums proportioned to the rate of their vessels. Other articles of merchandise were subsequently added to the list, as they became important to the colonial trade.

As some compensation to the colonies for these commercial restrictions, they were allowed the exclusive privilege of supplying England with tobacco, the cultivation of which was prohibited in England, Ireland, Guernsey, and Jersey. In 1663, the navigation act was enlarged, by prohibiting the importation of European commodities into the colonies, except in vessels laden in England, and navigated and manned according to the provisions already quoted.

At the same time the principle was assumed, and declared, that the commerce of the colonies ought to be confined to the mother country, and that the colonies themselves should be retained in firm and absolute dependence. Not content with this, the parliament proceeded to tax the trade of the several colonies with each other, by imposing a duty on the exportation of the commodities enumerated in the navigation act, from one colony to another, equivalent to what was levied on the consumption of those articles in England.

This colonial system was considered highly conducive to the interests of England; and was, of course, popular in that country, but it was felt to be unjust and injurious to the colonists, and excited their indignation, as well as a determination to evade it in every possible way.

The Virginians, who had naturally expected distinguishing favours from the restored government, were highly exasperated at this selfish and cruel attack upon their prosperity. They remonstrated against it as a grievance, and petitioned for relief. But Charles, instead of listening to their request, enforced the act with the utmost rigour, by erecting forts on the banks of the principal rivers, and appointing vessels to cruise on the coast. Relief was sought by entering into a clandestine trade with the Dutch, on Hudson river. This, however, was of trifling importance. A conspiracy for throwing off the yoke of England, which has received the name of Birkenhead's plot, was entered into by some banished soldiers of Cromwell; but it was easily suppressed by the prudence of Sir William Berkeley, and the leaders were executed. (1663.)

The colonial assembly, by way of retaliation on the mother

country, enacted a law, that in the payment of debts, country creditors should have the priority, and that all courts of justice should give precedence in judgment to contracts made in the colony. Acts were passed to restrain the cultivation of tobacco, and to introduce the production and manufacture of silk. These designs were unsuccessful. The people would raise tobacco as long as they found a ready market for it; and the price of labour in a new country, was found to be wholly incompatible with the profitable culture of the silkworm.

The discontents, occasioned by the commercial restrictions, were further increased by the inconsiderate grants of land which the king made to his favourites, in violation of the rights of the Virginians, and the grants which had previously been made.

In the beginning of the year 1675, there occurred some slight out-breakings of popular discontent, which, though easily suppressed by the prudence and decision of the governor, gave a significant intimation of the state of public feeling. To avert the crisis, and obtain some redress, a deputation was sent to England, who, after a tedious negotiation with the king and his ministers, had nearly succeeded in their object, when they received the intelligence of a formidable rebellion in the colony.

A tax, imposed by the assembly to defray the expenses of the deputation, had caused some irritation, which the delay of the government in affording relief, exasperated into fury. A war with the Susquehannah Indians, which had distressed the frontiers for some time, now burst forth with new violence, and threatened additional expense and distress to the people. The governor, Sir William Berkeley, whose popularity had been hitherto equal to his spirit and integrity, was now pronounced too old and infirm for his office. He was ungratefully 'accused of wanting honesty to resist the oppressions of the mother country, and courage to repel the hostility of the savages.' These charges were urged with great artifice, eloquence, and address, by an adventurer who had arrived in the colony about three years before, Nathaniel Bacon.

This man had been bred to the law, and had gained, by his talents and insinuating manners, a seat in the council, and the rank of colonel in the militia. He was not satisfied with these distinctions, but aspired to greater things. He had taken a part in the insurrection of the preceding year, and had been taken prisoner, but pardoned by the governor. This cir-

cumstance had cut him off from all hope of promotion by the regular government of the colony, and his ambition took another direction. He inveighed, with much warmth and eloquence, against what he termed the inertness and neglect of the governor, in the conduct of the frontier war: and declaring that the whole Indian race might easily be exterminated, he exhorted the people to take up arms in their own defence, and, by one vigorous campaign, to terminate the war.

His harangue was successful. A great number of the people were soon embodied for an expedition against the Indians; and, having elected Bacon for their general, placed themselves entirely at his disposal. To sanction the authority he had acquired, or to create an open breach with the existing government, he applied to the governor for a confirmation of his election, and offered instantly to march against the common enemy. Berkeley temporised, and when pressed for a decision, issued a proclamation, commanding the multitude, in the king's name, to disperse immediately, under the penalties of rebellion.

Bacon, by no means disconcerted at this turn of affairs, marched directly to Jamestown, at the head of six hundred of his followers; and, surrounding the house where the governor and assembly were met, he demanded the commission in a tone not to be mistaken. Berkeley refused with firmness, and presenting himself to the conspirators, who had charged him with cowardice, he undauntedly exposed his breast to their weapons, and awaited the result. The council, less courageous than their leader, hastily prepared a commission, appointing Bacon captain general of all the forces in Virginia, and by dint of earnest entreaty, prevailed on the governor to sign it.

The insurgents raised a shout of triumph and retired; and the assembly, feeling their courage suddenly revive with the departure of the danger, voted a resolution, annulling the commission they had just granted, as having been extorted by force, denouncing Bacon as a rebel, and commanding his followers to deliver him up. The governor readily confirmed this act of the assembly.

Bacon and his army could now charge their opponents with baseness and treachery; and give their own cause a colour of justice. They returned to Jamestown; and the governor was obliged to retire to Acomac on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake. Some of the councillors accompanied him; the rest

returned to their plantations ; and the government of the colony remained in the hands of the popular leader.

Having acquired the actual power, Bacon now sought to give it a legitimate form. He therefore assembled the gentlemen of the country in convention and prevailed on a large number of them 'to pledge themselves by oath to support his authority, and resist his enemies.' A declaration was published in the name of the convention, charging the origin of the civil war upon Sir William Berkeley, setting forth that he had given information to the king that the general and his followers were rebels, and requiring the people to support the general by aid, and allegiance against all forces whatsoever, till the king should be informed of the true state of the case. This declaration united the great body of the people in Virginia, and even found some advocates in England.

Berkeley, in the meantime, retaining some adherents among the planters, induced them to take up arms, and having raised some recruits among the crews of the English shipping on the coast, with their united force, he commenced a series of attacks on the insurgents, with various success. The colony was now in a state of civil war. Jamestown was burnt by Bacon's party ; the estates of the loyalists were plundered, their families seized as hostages, and the richest plantations in the province ravaged. The governor retaliated these outrages and executed some of the insurgents by martial law. A war of extermination was threatened.

Meantime intelligence of the rebellion had reached England. The king had issued a proclamation declaring Bacon a traitor, and the sole author of the insurrection, granting pardon to those of his followers who would forsake him ; and offering freedom to all slaves who would aid in suppressing the revolt. An armament under Sir John Berry had sailed from England to assist the governor in his warfare.

Bacon heard the intelligence of these operations without dismay. He counted on the devotion of his adherents, and determined to resist to the last extremity. He had already proclaimed a general forfeiture of all the property of his opponents, and was preparing to take the field anew, when his career was suddenly arrested by an unforeseen contingency. When just ready to strike the blow which was to annihilate the opposition of his enemies, he suddenly sickened and died.

So completely had he been the soul of his party, that his death was the signal for its immediate dissolution. Without

any attempt at reorganization—without any choice of a new leader, they entered into terms with Sir William Berkeley and laid down their arms on condition of receiving a general pardon. (1676.)

This rebellion, which had placed the colony for seven months under the direction of a most reckless usurper, might have terminated in its complete ruin. It cost many valuable lives, and occasioned the loss of property to a very large amount. It failed, however, to convey to the mother country the lesson that it was unsafe and impolitic to oppress the colonies by restrictions on their commerce. Had the signs which it held forth been properly understood by the British government, the revolution of 1776 might have been delayed to a much later period.

The succeeding period in the history of Virginia is marked with few incidents of importance. The succession of the different governors and the continuance of the commercial restrictions are the only circumstances of note during the subsequent portion of the reign of Charles II. and that of James II.

The revolution of the British government which took place in 1688 was highly beneficial to Virginia, in common with the other American colonies. The new sovereigns, William and Mary, gave their patronage and their name to a college which had been projected in the preceding reign, and which is to this day one of the most respectable literary seminaries in the country.

The political freedom, which the revolution confirmed and established in England, extended many of its blessings to Virginia. The province became less dependent on the will of the sovereign, and although he had still the appointment of the governors, the influence of the colonial assemblies was sufficient to restrain those functionaries within such boundaries of authority as were requisite for the well being of the colony. Favouritism and religious intolerance disappeared; and a better understanding prevailed with the other provincial governments.

The population had increased to upwards of 60,000 souls; and the increasing healthfulness of the settlements promised a still more rapid augmentation of their numbers. In 1688, the province contained forty-eight parishes, embracing upwards of 200,000 acres of appropriated land. Each parish contained a church, with a parsonage house and glebe attached; and each clergyman was by law assigned a salary of 16,000 pounds of

tobacco. Episcopacy continued to be the established religion, but dissenters were increasing so rapidly, that before the American revolution they amounted to two-thirds of the whole population. The statutes against them, though unrepealed, had become a dead letter.

CHAPTER IX.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.

By its second charter, Virginia included the whole territory which at present forms the state of Maryland. The country was explored by the Virginia settlers as early as 1621; a settlement was formed, and a trade with the Indians in furs established. An attempt was made to monopolise this trade by William Clayborne, a man of active and turbulent disposition, who long exerted an extensive and injurious influence over the fortunes of the rising state.

He had come out from England as a surveyor in 1621, and had sustained important offices in Virginia till 1629, when he was employed to survey the Chesapeake bay. The information which he obtained in executing this undertaking, induced him to form a company in England for trading with the Indians; and he obtained a royal licence, giving him the direction of an expedition for this purpose in 1631. Under these auspices trading establishments were formed on Kent Island in Maryland, and also near the mouth of the Susquehannah. Clayborne's authority was confirmed by a commission from the government of Virginia, and that colony claimed the advantages which were expected to result from commercial speculation extending far to the north of the present limits of the state of Virginia.

But a distinct colony was now formed on her borders under the auspices of the Calvert family. Sir George Calvert, a Roman catholic nobleman of enlarged capacity and liberal views, had become interested in American colonisation. He had spent a large amount of time and money in unsuccessful attempts to form settlements on Newfoundland. In 1628, he visited Virginia; but was deterred from settling within its limits by the intolerance of the colonial government towards his religious opinions.

He therefore turned his attention towards the country beyond the Potomac; and, finding it at the disposal of the king of England, he easily obtained from him a charter for colonising it. This charter was of a liberal character, affording ample guarantees for the freedom of the colonists, and the rights and privileges of the proprietary. The boundaries which it prescribed were the Atlantic Ocean, the fortieth parallel of north latitude, the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its mouth to its source, and a line drawn due east from Watkins's Point to the ocean. The name given to the new colony was Maryland, in honour of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France, and wife of Charles I. of England.

The charter assigned the country to Calvert, Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as absolute lord and proprietary, on payment of a feudal rent of two Indian arrows, and one-fifth of all gold and silver ore which might be discovered. The right of legislation was given to the emigrants who should settle on the soil. They were also protected from injury by the proprietary, to their lives, liberty, or estates.

Although Sir George Calvert was a Roman Catholic, he allowed the most perfect religious liberty to the colonists under his charter; and Maryland was the first state in the world in which perfect religious freedom was enjoyed. All English subjects, without distinction, were allowed equal rights in respect to property and religious and civil franchises. A royal exemption from English taxation was another singular privilege obtained by Lord Baltimore for the people of his colony. All the extraordinary features of his charter owe their origin to the political foresight and sagacity of this remarkable man.

'Calvert,' says Mr. Bancroft, 'deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilisation by recognising the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers, which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.'

Before the patent was executed Sir George Calvert died, and was succeeded by his son, Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, who became the proprietor of Maryland, and transmitted his proprietary rights to many generations of his heirs.

Virginia remonstrated against what she considered an infringement of her rights and an invasion of her territory; but the remonstrance was disregarded at court; and in November, 1633, Leonard Calvert, the brother of Lord Baltimore, sailed from England with about two hundred Roman Catholics for America. He arrived in February, of the following year, at Point Comfort in Virginia, and was courteously received by the governor, Harvey. From this Point he sailed up the Potomac to the Indian town of Piscataqua, nearly opposite Mount Vernon, the chieftain of which told him 'he might use his own discretion about settling in his country.' Calvert, however, chose a site lower down the river, at the Indian town of Yoacomoco, on the St. Mary's river, which he named St. George's river. The Indians were induced, by presents, to give them up half the town, and promise the abandonment of the whole after harvest. Quiet possession of the place was accordingly taken by the colonists, and the town was named St. Mary's.

The Indians now entered into a permanent treaty with the settlers; their women taught the wives of the English to make bread of maize, and the men instructed their visitors in the arts of the chase. The ground being already tilled, and a supply of food and cattle from Virginia being always within reach, the province advanced rapidly in wealth and industry. In six months it had increased more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary was liberal in his disbursements, spending forty thousand pounds in the first two years.

In 1635, the first colonial assembly was convened, and passed laws for protecting its rights against the encroachments of Clayborne. He had made an attack on the colonists on one of the rivers near the isle of Kent, but his men had been defeated and taken prisoners. Clayborne himself fled to Virginia, and when reclaimed by the governor of Maryland, was sent by Harvey to England.

He was declared a traitor, and his estates were pronounced forfeited by an act of the Maryland assembly. His attempts to obtain redress in England were unavailing; and the right

of Lord Baltimore to the jurisdiction of Maryland was fully confirmed by the British government.

Meantime the assembly of Maryland was labouring in the cause of civil liberty; at the same time that it recognised the sovereignty of the king of England, and the rights of the proprietary, it confirmed the rights of Englishmen to the inhabitants of Maryland; established a representative government; and asserted for itself similar powers to those of the British House of Commons.

In 1642, the gratitude of the colonists towards Lord Baltimore was manifested by the grant of such a subsidy as they could afford.

About the same time, the Indians, instigated by Clayborne, commenced hostilities, but were reduced to submission without much difficulty, and measures were taken by the assembly to insure the future tranquillity of the colony.

In 1643, Clayborne succeeded in raising a rebellion, which kept the province in a state of disturbance for three years; and at one time the governor was compelled to fly, and the public records were lost or embezzled.

The government, however, was eventually triumphant, and confirmed its victory by the wise and humane expedient of a general amnesty.

The civil wars of England extended their influence to Maryland as well as the other colonies. When the authority of Cromwell was defied by the Virginians, and commissioners were sent to reduce them to obedience, Clayborne, the ever active enemy of the Marylanders, seized the occasion for extending his authority over them; and a long series of fresh troubles and disturbances were brought on by his measures. Stone, the deputy of Lord Baltimore, was repeatedly deprived

1652 of his commission: the Catholic inhabitants were per-
 to secuted for their religious opinions, and the province
 1658 was kept for years in a state of alarm and confusion.
 The authority of the proprietary was, however, finally restored.

In 1660, the representatives of Maryland declared their right of independent legislation, and passed an act making it felony to disturb the order thus established. From that time forward the province enjoyed comparative repose. Their population had already reached the number of twelve thousand.

CHAPTER X.

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

SEVERAL abortive attempts were made to colonise the country now called New England, before the famous expedition of the Pilgrim Fathers, which planted the earliest permanent colony.

Two expeditions were sent out from the west of England as early as 1606, neither of which left settlers; but in 1607, two ships, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, sailed with a colony of emigrants under the presidency of George Popham. These adventurers landed and formed a settlement near the mouth of Kennebec river, which they called St. George. Forty-five persons were left here by the ships on their return to England, in December.

During the winter the little colony suffered many hardships and misfortunes. Their president died; and on the return of the ships with supplies, Gilbert, who had succeeded to the presidency, learning that chief justice Popham, the principal patron of the colony, was dead; and that he himself had, by the decease of his brother, become heir to a considerable estate, abandoned the plantation; and the whole company returned to the mother country.

In 1614, Captain John Smith, the hero whose name is so celebrated in the history of Virginia, set sail with two ships for the coast north of Virginia, and performed a prosperous voyage, during which he explored the coast, and prepared a map of it, from the Penobscot river to Cape Cod. He gave to the country the name of New England.

His success in this enterprise encouraged him to attempt the settlement of a colony for Sir Ferdinand Gorges and others, of the Plymouth company. But after two attempts he was intercepted on his voyage by French pirates, lost his vessel, and finally escaped from the harbour of Rochelle, alone, in an open boat. Smith was a perfect hero of romance. Wherever we hear of his being, we are sure to find him performing some extraordinary act, some feat of chivalry or herculean labour, such as no ordinary man would ever have thought of attempting. His fortune was as extraordinary as his genius.

On his return home from France, he published his map and description of New England; and by his earnest solicitations engaged the western company for colonising America, to solicit and obtain a charter for settling the country. The company was called 'The council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England, in America.' The charter gave this company the absolute property and unlimited control of the territory included between the fortieth and forty-eighth degrees of north latitude and the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. A glance at the map will show that this included the Canadas, all the eastern and nearly all the Middle States, and a country of immense extent to the west. All this territory, with its commercial and internal resources, were placed under the absolute control of some forty merchants and gentlemen, who composed the company and resided in England.

The extent of these powers, vested in the company, delayed emigration; and in the mean time the first permanent colony in New England was established without regard to this charter, or even the knowledge of the company who had obtained it.

A sect of puritans, distinguished by the democracy of its tenets respecting church government, and denominated Brownists, from the name of its founder, had sprung up in England, and after suffering much persecution from the government, had taken refuge at Leyden, in Holland. Here its members having formed a distinct society under the charge of their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, resided for some years in obscurity and safety; but not finding their situation congenial to their feelings as Englishmen, and fearful of losing their national identity, they had come to the determination of removing in a body to America.

They accordingly sent two of their number, Robert Cushman and John Carver, to England, for the purpose of obtaining the consent of the London company to their emigration to Virginia. Permission was promised, and a formal application, signed by the greatest part of the congregation, was transmitted to the company. The language used on this occasion indicates the state of feeling which prompted the application. 'We are all well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation

whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage.' Such was the character of the far-renowned Pilgrims of New England, as described by themselves.

They were desirous that their enterprise should receive the formal approbation of the king. But James I. was hostile to all the puritans; and the utmost that he would promise was neglect. A patent under the company's seal was, however, obtained through the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys, and a tract of land assigned them within the limits of the Virginia charter. The funds necessary for defraying the expenses of the expedition were obtained in London, on terms by no means favourable to the borrowers; but this circumstance could not deter men who were actuated by the spirit of the Pilgrims.

Two vessels, the *Speedwell*, of sixty tons, and the *Mayflower*, of one hundred and eighty tons burthen, were hired in England. Only a part of the congregation could be accommodated in these; and Robinson was obliged to remain at Leyden, while Brewster, an elder, conducted the company.

It was on the morning of the 22d of July, 1620, when Robinson, kneeling in prayer on the sea shore at Delfthaven, consecrated the embarkation of the Pilgrims. The beginning of their voyage was prosperous. They touched at Southampton, in England, and sailed thence on the fifth of August. Their prospect soon darkened; they were obliged to put back twice in order to repair the smaller of their vessels, and finally to abandon her with such of their company as were too fearful to continue the voyage; so that it was not until the 6th of September, 1620, that they took their final departure from England in the *Mayflower*.

'Could,' says a celebrated orator of our own times, 'Could a common calculation of policy have dictated the terms of that settlement, no doubt our foundations would have been laid beneath the royal smile. Convoys and navies would have been solicited, to waft our fathers to the coast; armies to defend the infant communities; and the flattering patronage of princes and lords, to espouse their interests in the councils of the mother country.'

'Happy, that our fathers enjoyed no such patronage; happy, that they fell into no such protecting hands; happy, that our foundations were silently and deeply cast in quiet insignifi-

cance, beneath a charter of banishment, persecution, and contempt; so that when the royal arm was at length outstretched against us, instead of a submissive child, tied down by former graces, it found a youthful giant in the land, born amidst hardships, and nourished on the rocks, indebted for no favours, and owing no duty.

‘From the dark portals of the star chamber, and in the stern texts of the acts of uniformity, the Pilgrims received a commission, more efficient than any that ever bore the royal seal. Their banishment to Holland was fortunate; the decline of their little company in the strange land was fortunate; the difficulties, which they experienced, in getting the royal consent to banish themselves to this wilderness, were fortunate; all the tears and heart-breakings of that ever memorable parting at Delfthaven, had the happiest influence on the rising destinies of New England.

‘All this purified the ranks of the settlers. These rough touches of fortune brushed off the light, uncertain, selfish spirits. They made it a grave, solemn, self-denying expedition, and required those, who engaged in it, to be so too. They cast a broad shadow of thought and seriousness over the cause, and if this sometimes deepened into melancholy and bitterness, can we find no apology for such a human weakness?

‘It is sad indeed to reflect on the disasters, which the little band of pilgrims encountered. Sad to see a portion of them, the prey of unrelenting cupidity, treacherously embarked in an unsound, unseaworthy ship, which they are soon obliged to abandon, and crowd themselves into one vessel; one hundred persons, besides the ship’s company, in a vessel of one hundred and sixty tons. One is touched at the story of the long, cold, and weary autumnal passage; of the landing on the inhospitable rocks at this dismal season; where they are deserted, before long, by the ship which had brought them, and which seemed their only hold upon the world of fellow-men, a prey to the elements and to want, and fearfully ignorant of the numbers, of the power, and the temper of the savage tribes, that filled the unexplored continent, upon whose verge they had ventured.

‘But all this wrought together for good. These trials of wandering and exile, of the ocean, the winter, the wilderness, and the savage foe, were the final assurance of success. It was these that put far away from our father’s cause all patrician softness, all hereditary claims to pre-eminence.

‘No effeminate nobility crowded into the dark and austere ranks of the Pilgrims. No Carr nor Villiers would lead on the ill-provided band of despised Puritans. No well endowed clergy were on the alert, to quit their cathedrals, and set up a pompous hierarchy in the frozen wilderness. No craving governors were anxious to be sent over to the cheerless El Dorados of ice and of snow.

‘No, they could not say they had encouraged, patronised, or helped the Pilgrims; their own cares, their own labours, their own counsels, their own blood, contrived all, achieved all, bore all, sealed all. They could not afterwards fairly pretend to reap where they had not strewn; and as our fathers reared this broad and solid fabric with pains and watchfulness, unaided, barely tolerated, it did not fall, when the favour, which had always been withholden, was changed into wrath; when the arm, which had never supported, was raised to destroy.

‘Methinks I see it now, that one solitary, adventurous vessel, the Mayflower of a forlorn hope, freighted with the prospects of a future state, and bound across the unknown sea. I behold it pursuing, with a thousand misgivings, the uncertain, the tedious voyage. Suns rise and set, and weeks and months pass, and winter surprises them on the deep, but brings them not the sight of the wished-for shore.

‘I see them now, scantily supplied with provisions, crowded almost to suffocation in their ill-stored prison, delayed by calms, pursuing a circuitous route—and now driven in fury before the raging tempest, on the high and giddy waves. The awful voice of the storm howls through the rigging. The labouring masts seem straining from their base—the dismal sound of the pumps is heard—the ship leaps, as it were, madly, from billow to billow—the ocean breaks, and settles with engulfing floods over the floating deck, and beats with deadening, shivering weight, against the staggered vessel.

‘I see them, escaped from these perils, pursuing their all but desperate undertaking, and landed at last, after a five months’ passage, on the ice-clad rocks of Plymouth—weak and weary from the voyage—poorly armed, scantily provisioned, depending on the charity of their ship-master for a draught of beer on board, drinking nothing but water on shore—without shelter—without means—surrounded by hostile tribes.

‘Shut now the volume of history, and tell me, on any prin-

ciple of human probability, what shall be the fate of this handful of adventurers. Tell me, man of military science, in how many months were they all swept off by the thirty savage tribes, enumerated within the early limits of New England? Tell me, politician, how long did this shadow of a colony, on which your conventions and treaties had not smiled, languish on the distant coast?

‘Student of history, compare for me the baffled projects, the deserted settlements, the abandoned adventures of other times, and find the parallel of this. Was it in the winter’s storm, beating upon the houseless heads of women and children? Was it hard labour and spare meals—was it disease—was it the tomahawk—was it the deep malady of a blighted hope, a ruined enterprise and a broken heart, aching in its last moments, at the recollection of the loved and left beyond the sea; was it some or all of these united, that hurried this forsaken company to their melancholy fate?’

‘And is it possible that neither of these causes, that not all combined, were able to blast this bud of hope? Is it possible, that from a beginning so feeble, so frail, so worthy, not so much of admiration as of pity, there has gone forth a progress so steady, a growth so wonderful, an expansion so ample, a reality so important, a promise, yet to be fulfilled, so glorious?’

The destination of the Pilgrims was the mouth of the Hudson; but by the treachery of their captain, who is supposed to have been bribed by the Dutch, interested in the colony of New Amsterdam, they were conducted to the inhospitable coast of Massachusetts. They did not make the land till the 9th of November. On the next day they cast anchor in the harbour of Cape Cod.

Before landing, they adopted a solemn compact or constitution of government in the following words:—

‘In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign king James, having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame

such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.'

This instrument was signed by the men, forty-one in number; and they, with their families, amounted to one hundred and one persons. As soon as their covenant or contract was signed, Mr. John Carver was unanimously chosen their governor for one year.

The inclemency of the season was very unfavourable to their undertaking. Several days were spent in searching for a suitable place to land, and much hardship was endured by those who went in the boats for this purpose. Some traces of the Indians were discovered—a heap of maize, a burial place, and four or five deserted wigwams. On the 8th of December, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and eight or ten seamen, being on shore near Namskeket, on Great Meadow Creek, were assailed by a party of Indians, who welcomed them with the war-whoop, and a flight of arrows. On the same day, they were near being wrecked in their shallop as they were seeking a harbour. They escaped this danger, however, and landed at night on a small island. Here they kept the Christian Sabbath with strict observance, and on the day following, December 11, found the long-sought harbour, to which, in grateful remembrance of the friends they had left at their last port in England, they gave the name of Plymouth.

In a few days the Mayflower was safely moored in Plymouth harbour: the surrounding country was then explored, and a high ground facing the bay, where the land was cleared and the water good, was selected for building.

On the morning of the 20th of December, 1620, after imploring the divine guidance and blessing, the Pilgrims landed on the rock of Plymouth. The spot which their footsteps first touched on this memorable occasion, has ever since been regarded by their descendants as sacred, and the day is still celebrated with all the enthusiasm of religion and patriotism.

When the landing of the Pilgrims was effected, their difficulties and distresses were but just begun. We are to recollect that it was in the depth of a New England winter; that their company was already suffering from colds, lung fevers, and incipient consumptions, contracted by their ex-

exposure to snow, rain, and the beating surf, in exploring the coast; that their stock of provisions was scanty; and that the care of their wives and children was added to hardships which manhood was hardly able to encounter.

The month of January was spent in erecting such tenements as their scanty means afforded. Sickness attended them, and mortality thinned their numbers through the winter; and it was not until the spring was far advanced that health revisited the remnant of the colony. Half their number had perished. Carver, their first governor, died in March, and William Bradford was chosen to succeed him.

Privation and want were still to be endured. A reinforcement of emigrants, which came out in the autumn of 1621, brought no supply of provisions, and the colony was compelled to subsist, for six months longer, on half allowance. The scarcity of provisions continued, with only occasional relief, for two years longer.

A mistaken policy, or a desire to conform to the simplicity of apostolic times, had induced the Pilgrims to adopt the system of community of property. This was one of the causes of scarcity. In the spring of 1623, each family was allowed a parcel of ground to cultivate for itself; and after the harvest of that year, no general want of food was experienced.

A profitable commerce was established with the Indians. European trinkets were exchanged for furs, and the colonists were at length enabled to barter corn with them for the products of the chase. The Indians were not numerous in the vicinity of Plymouth, for before the arrival of the English, a sweeping pestilence had carried off whole tribes of them, but enough were left to render a sort of military organisation necessary for the defence of the colony, and Captain Miles Standish, a man of great courage and fortitude, obtained the chief command.

In March, 1621, the colonists were visited by Samoset, a chief of the Wampanoags, who bade them welcome, and in the name of his tribe gave them permission to occupy the soil, which there was no one of the original possessors alive to claim.

In the same month, Massasoit, the greatest king of the neighbouring Indians, paid them a visit, and entered into a league of friendship, which was inviolably observed for upwards of fifty years.

This event was followed by others of the same character. A sachem who had threatened hostilities was compelled to sue for peace, and nine chiefs subscribed an instrument of submission to king James. Canonicus, the sachem of the Narragansetts, sent a bundle of arrows wrapped in a rattlesnake's skin to the governor, in token of defiance; but Bradford coolly stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and returned it. The Indian's courage failed at the sight of this unequivocal symbol; and he followed the example of his countrymen by subscribing a treaty of peace.

Another colony was the means of involving the Plymouth settlers in an Indian war. Weston, one of the London adventurers, had been induced, by the hope of a lucrative trade, to obtain a patent for land near Weymouth, in Massachusetts Bay, and sent over a company of sixty men, who settled on the soil, intruded themselves on the hospitality of the Plymouth colony, were idle and dissolute, and finally exasperated the Indians so much by their repeated aggressions, that a plot was formed for the entire extermination of the English. This plot was revealed by

1623. Massasoit. The governor, on receiving this intelligence, ordered Standish to take a party with him to the new settlement, and, if he should discover signs of a plot, to fall on the conspirators. Standish took but eight men, and proceeded at once to the scene of action, was insulted and threatened by the natives. Watching a favourable opportunity, he attacked them, killed several, and put the rest to flight. The Indian women were treated kindly and sent away. This decisive action broke up the conspiracy, and dispersed the tribes who had formed it. The Weymouth colony was soon after abandoned, and the settlers returned to England.

The London merchants, who had lent money to the Pilgrims, on their departure from England, had been admitted to a sort of partnership in the colony, which was afterwards productive of much inconvenience. These merchants used their power for the purpose of making severe restrictions and exactions. They refused a passage to Mr. Robinson, who wished to join his friends in Plymouth—endeavoured to force upon the colony a clergyman, whose religious opinions were at variance with their own—and even attempted to injure their commerce by rivalry—extorting from them exorbitant profits on supplies, and

excessive usury on money. The emigrants bore all this patiently; and at last succeeded in buying out the entire rights of the London adventurers, and relieving themselves from debt, and its unpleasant consequences.

The first patent of Plymouth had been taken out at the instance of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, in the name of John Pierce, as trustee for the adventurers. When the enterprise assumed a promising aspect, this man secretly procured another patent of larger extent, for his own benefit, intending to hold the adventurers as his tenants.

He accordingly sent out ships for New England; but they were driven back repeatedly by storms; and the losses he underwent compelled him to sell his patent, and his property, to the company.

A patent was afterwards granted for the lands about the Kennebec river, where a trading establishment had been formed; but no charter could ever be obtained from the king, who still retained his hostility to the Puritans.

The population of the old colony, at Plymouth, increased slowly. Ten years after the first settlement there were only three hundred inhabitants. But they had spread over a wide territory, and become firmly rooted in the soil.

The government of the old colony was strictly republican. The governor was elected by the people, and restricted by a council of five, and afterwards of seven, assistants. The legislature was at first composed of the whole body of the people. But, as the population increased, they adopted the representative system.

CHAPTER XI.

PROGRESS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

THE old Plymouth company 'for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing New England, in America,' whose extensive and very exclusive charter has already been mentioned, had made no other use of its inordinate privileges than an attempt to exclude from the trade and fisheries all who would not pay the company a heavy tax. No monopoly could be more odious to the people of England than this.

Their privileges were violently assailed in the house of commons, and the patentees were finally compelled to relinquish their claims. They continued, however, to issue patents for portions of their immense territory, to different companies and individuals.

One of these having been granted to Robert Gorges, the son of Ferdinand, for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, and thirty miles into the interior, he was appointed by the company, lieutenant-general of New England, with extensive powers. But this grant was productive of no permanent settlement, and the powers of Gorges were never exercised.

In 1622, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and John Mason, took a patent for a territory called Laconia, extending from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence, and from the Merrimac to the Kennebec. Under this patent, Portsmouth and Dover were settled, in 1623. A fresh patent for the country between the Merrimac and Piscataqua, was obtained by Mason, in 1629. This was the patent for New Hampshire. Its early progress was so slow, that, in thirty years after its settlement, Portsmouth contained no more than sixty families.

In 1628, a number of settlements were commenced on the coast of Maine, under a succession of patents granted by the Plymouth council. But, as most of these were merely temporary, having for their object the pursuits of hunting and fishing, they were soon abandoned.

A district of forty miles square, which was called Lygonia, and situated between Harpswell and the Kennebunk river, was settled in 1630, and given up the next year, the settlers retiring to Massachusetts.

Sir Ferdinand Gorges obtained, in 1635, a patent for the district lying between the Kennebec and the Piscataqua, and sent his nephew, William Gorges, to govern the territory, who found some settlers on the Saco and Kennebec; but he remained in the country only two years, and it was then left without a government. Sir Ferdinand still continued his schemes for colonisation, and was subsequently constituted lord proprietary of the country, by a royal charter.

New England would have increased but slowly in wealth and population, had not the same causes which drove the Brownists from England, still continued to operate. The Puritans were constantly the objects of persecution in England, and numbers of them were desirous to seek an asylum

in the new world. Several emigrations were consequently made to Massachusetts.

Mr. White, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, in England, had induced some merchants and gentlemen to join him, (1624,) in sending out a small colony, who began a plantation at Cape Ann, recognising, however, the supremacy of the Plymouth settlers.

In 1627, Mr. White and his company concluded a treaty, with the council of Plymouth, for the purchase of that part of New England lying three miles south of Charles river, and three miles north of Merrimac river, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A small number of emigrants, under the direction of John Endicott, were soon afterwards sent out, who laid the foundation of Salem, the first permanent town in the Massachusetts colony, in 1628.

The adventurers did not deem themselves able to effect all their objects without the aid of more opulent partners. Some London merchants joined them, and a charter was obtained from the crown confirming the grant from the council of Plymouth, and conferring powers of government. The supreme authority was vested in persons residing in London, a most unwise provision, as the history of the Virginia company sufficiently proved. The patentees were styled 'The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England.'

The executive power was vested in a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, to be nominated by the crown, and afterwards elected by the company. The governor and assistants were to meet monthly for business. The legislative power was vested in the body of the proprietors, who were to assemble four times a year, under the denomination of the General Court, for electing officers, and making laws for the common weal. The colonists were exempted from taxes and duties, and declared entitled to all the rights and privileges of Englishmen, as had already been done in the charter of Virginia.

Under this charter three vessels sailed in May, 1628, with about two hundred persons, who reached Salem in June, where they found a colony of one hundred planters under the government of John Endicott.

Not satisfied with the situation at Salem, one hundred of the company, under the direction of Thomas Graves, removed to Mishawum, where they laid the foundation of a town, to which they gave the name of Charlestown. Both settlements

were united under the same government; and one of their first acts was to form a church and ordain their minister and ruling elder, in which solemnity they were joined by a representation from the Plymouth colony.

The inconveniences, which would have resulted from that provision of the charter which required the government of the colony of Massachusetts to be resident in London, had already been foreseen, and in consequence of representations to that effect, the charter was transferred to those of the freemen who should themselves reside in the colony. This gave a new impulse to emigration, and many persons of various ranks prepared for their departure to the New World.

The next year (1630) brought a fleet with eight hundred and forty emigrants, among whom were governor Winthrop, deputy governor Dudley, and many other persons of wealth and respectability. In September, of the same year, a settlement was formed at a place on the south side of Charles river, called by the Indians Shawmut, and by the English, Trimountain, to which the name of Boston was now given.

The succeeding autumn and winter were marked by severe distress. Sickness visited the colony, and before December, two hundred of their number had died. Among these was the lady Arabella Johnson, the daughter of a noble house in England, who had left the quiet and luxury of her home, but to leave a memorial of her virtues and misfortunes in the new country. The colonists were by no means disheartened by their sufferings, but bore all with fortitude, in the hope of transmitting free institutions to their posterity.

In May, 1631, at the first court of election in Massachusetts, 'that the body of the commons might be preserved of good and honest men,' it was ordered that, from that time, no persons be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were members of some of the churches within its limits. This provision has been much censured by historians and statesmen, and the right of the government to make it has been questioned. It was subsequently productive of much dissension. It was, however, by no means consistent with the spirit of the age, and was unquestionably adopted from the most upright and conscientious motives.

The settlements gradually extended in the neighbourhood of Boston and Charlestown to such remote points, that the purely democratic form of government, which admitted every freeman to a share in the deliberations respecting the public

welfare, was found to be very inconvenient; and accordingly, in 1634, a representative form of government was adopted. The whole body of the freemen assembled but once a year for the election of magistrates, and the freemen of each town chose deputies to the general court, who were vested with the full power of all the freemen, and were required to assemble in general court four times a year. This form of government was retained, with but slight alterations, during the continuance of the charter. We have here the second instance of a house of representatives in America, the first having been convened in Virginia, June 19, 1619.

Roger Williams, a minister of Salem, having put forth certain tenets, which were considered heretical and seditious, 1634. 'tending equally to sap the foundations of the establishment in church and state,' and refusing to recant and conform to the opinions of the ruling powers, was banished the colony.

The heresy which he promulgated was, 'that the civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul.' His firmness on this occasion made him the founder of a state, and classed him among the most celebrated assertors of intellectual freedom.

His exile was not a mere transfer from one agreeable residence to another as agreeable. He was obliged to go into the wilderness of woods in the depth of winter; and when cast out from the society of civilised men for asserting the noblest right of humanity, he found a shelter among the untutored savages. Pokanoket, Massasoit, and Canonius, welcomed him to their rude wigwams, and thus confirmed a constant friend and benefactor. In the spring he began to build and plant at Seekonk, but finding that this place was within the patent of Plymouth, he passed over the water with five companions, and settled on a spot which, in token of his humble reliance on the Divine favour, he called PROVIDENCE. Under these circumstances was commenced the settlement of Rhode Island—a state, whose history is marked throughout with the strongest evidences of the attachment of its people to the principles of civil and religious liberty.

In 1635, three thousand emigrants were added to the puritan colony of Massachusetts. Among them were two persons who were afterwards remarkably distinguished by their characters and fortunes; these were Hugh Peter, and Henry Vane

the Younger. Peter, who had formerly been pastor of a church of English exiles at Rotterdam, was a man of high spirit, great energy, eloquence and ability. Vane, who suffered much censure during his active career, is now pronounced by impartial historians to have been a man of spotless integrity, pure mind, and a genuine martyr for liberty.

The freemen of Massachusetts, captivated by the talents and fascinating manners of Vane, and flattered by his abandonment of ease and high rank in England, for a residence on their own soil, elected him for their governor. He was too young and too little acquainted with the country to fulfil with success the duties of so arduous an office.

The arrival of Vane was followed by certain negotiations with other men of noble rank in England, who were desirous to emigrate to Massachusetts, provided they could continue there in the enjoyment of those hereditary powers and offices, which were guaranteed to them and their families by the British constitution. Their proposals were received and considered by the leaders and freemen of the colony; but, fortunately for their posterity, these sagacious republicans foresaw the evils which would result from such an arrangement, and the proposal was accordingly declined.

The colony was not so fortunate in respect to another source of disorder, religious dissensions. A controversy arose concerning faith and works, in which a Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, and two clergymen, Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Cotton, espoused one side of the question, and received the support of governor Vane, while the lieutenant governor Winthrop, and a majority of the ministers and churches, contended as earnestly for the opposite opinions.

Mrs. Hutchinson held weekly conferences for persons of her own sex, and commented with great asperity on the sermons delivered by preachers of the opposite party, whom she pronounced to be 'under a covenant of works.' The number and quality of her adherents soon gave the affair a degree of political importance, which it could never have acquired in a community where the church and state were not intimately connected.

The general court took up the matter, and censured Wheelwright for sedition. This measure embroiled the parties still further; and the 'party question' of the day was made the test of elections, and interfered with the discussion and decision of every public measure. The controversy lasted till

1637, when Anne Hutchinson, Wheelwright, and Aspinwall, were banished the colony, and their adherents were required to deliver up their arms.

Many of the Antinomians, as the minority were called, emigrated to the neighbouring colonies. A considerable number found shelter with Roger Williams; and, by his influence and that of Vane, obtained from Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansetts, a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. Wheelwright, and some of his friends, removed to the Piscataqua, and founded the town of Exeter. Thus the intolerance of Massachusetts became instrumental in scattering new settlers over the face of the country, and founding new communities of men, who were ready to sacrifice all the delights of social intercourse to the preservation of the rights of conscience. Such men were worthy to become the founders of new states, and to be remembered with gratitude by those who are now enjoying the blessings which they so dearly purchased.

Vane not being elected governor a second time, and having witnessed the persecution and exile of the party to which he had been conscientiously attached, soon after returned to England, became conspicuous in the civil wars, and suffered death for his attachment to the republican cause. Peter became chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and after the Restoration, suffered the same fate.

The valley of the Connecticut had already attracted attention, by its fertility and its convenient location for an extensive internal trade in furs. The first proprietary under the Plymouth council, the Earl of Warwick, had assigned his grant to Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brook, and others, in 1631. The people of the old colony at Plymouth had built a trading house at Windsor (1631) for the purchase of furs; and the Dutch had settled Hartford, under the name of Good Hope, in 1633.

The proprietaries sent out John Winthrop, in 1635, who erected a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut, and founded Saybrook. Before his arrival, parties of emigrants from Massachusetts had already formed settlements at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. The settlers marched through the forest to their new abode, accompanied by their wives and children. This appears to have been the first example of 'western emigration' which was conducted in this manner. The march of the vanguard of sixty Pilgrims, which took

place late in autumn, was attended with much suffering and privation.

Next year a government was organised under a commission from Massachusetts; and, in June, a company of one hundred new emigrants, under the direction of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, commenced its march from Massachusetts towards the new settlement on the Connecticut, travelling through the pathless woods, at the slow rate of ten miles a day, encumbered with their families and flocks, and sleeping at night with scarce any shelter but what the woods afforded. This pilgrimage is not less remarkable for its romantic daring, than for the high character of its leaders. The new settlement was surrounded with perils. The Dutch, who were established on the river, were anxious to exclude the English; and the natives, who were numerous and powerful in that neighbourhood, had begun to entertain hostile dispositions towards all European intruders.

The Pequods, residing in the vicinity of the Thames river, could bring seven hundred warriors into the field. They had already committed repeated aggressions on the whites, without suffering any chastisement, and they now proposed to the Narragansetts and Mohegans to unite in a league for the utter extermination of the race. Fortunately this design became known to Roger Williams, who communicated it to the governor of Massachusetts; and, having received from the governor and council letters requesting his personal exertions in dissolving the league, he went directly to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts, and, although the Pequod chiefs were already there, he succeeded, at great hazard of his life, in breaking up the conspiracy. Such was the service which the persecuted man was able to render to those who had been his persecutors.

The Pequods, when the Narragansetts and Mohegans were detached from their alliance, foolishly resolved to prosecute the war alone. They commenced hostilities by murdering the white people on their borders; but the Connecticut settlers promptly raised a force of ninety men, which were placed under the command of John Mason. The Massachusetts and Plymouth colonies proceeded to furnish their contingent of troops; but before they could arrive, the Connecticut party were on their way to the scene of action. By a rapid march they succeeded in surprising the Pequods, in their camp of palisades, before day-break, and, but for

the barking of a watch-dog, would have destroyed them without resistance. The warriors rose at the alarm, and defended themselves with their bows and arrows. Their superiority of numbers gave them some chance of escape, until Mason cast firebrands upon the Indian cabins, and set the whole encampment in a blaze. The confusion that ensued gave the English an easy victory. Six hundred of the Indians, men, women, and children, perished; most of them by the fire. Only two of the assailants were killed.

The following account is given by Robinson of the cause which delayed the arrival of the force from Massachusetts:—

‘The march of the troops from Massachusetts, which formed the most considerable body, was retarded by the most singular cause that ever influenced the operations of a military force. When they were mustered, previous to their departure, it was found that some of the officers, as well as of the private soldiers, were still under a covenant of works; and that the blessing of God could not be implored, or expected to crown the arms of such unhallowed men with success. The alarm was general, and many arrangements necessary in order to cast out the unclean, and to render this little band sufficiently pure to fight the battles of a people who entertained high ideas of their own sanctity.’

These troops, consequently, only arrived in time to hunt out a few of the fugitives, burn their remaining villages, and lay waste their cornfields. Sassacus, the sachem of the Pequods, fled to the Mohawks, and was murdered. The remnant of the tribe, two hundred in number, surrendered, and were either enslaved to the English, or mingled with the Mohegans and Narragansetts. The Pequods no longer existed as a distinct tribe.

It is worthy of remark, that the Indians were never dangerous enemies to the colonies, until they had learnt the use of fire-arms. A handful of English could always march into their territory, and conquer a whole tribe, before the European weapons were brought into use among them.

The successful termination of the Pequod war was followed by a long season of uninterrupted peace, during which the colonies of New England continued to flourish, increasing in wealth and population.

Settlements were constantly forming, and fresh emigrants arriving from England. In 1638, a Puritan colony was

planted at New Haven, under the direction of John Davenport, its pastor, and Theophilus Eaton, who, for twenty years, sustained the office of governor. This was a separate jurisdiction from that in the interior, so that, at this time, there were no less than three distinct political communities in the territory now called Connecticut, viz. Saybrook, under the proprietaries; Connecticut colony, under a commission from Massachusetts; and New Haven colony, claiming its territory by purchase from the Indians, and governing itself by virtue of a social contract.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND UNITED.

THE increase of the colonies in New England had already attracted considerable attention in the mother country. Some of those who had fallen under the censure of the government in Massachusetts had returned to England, and busied themselves in exciting animosity against the colony. Gorges and Mason, who were rivals to the leaders of that colony, joined in the clamour against them. But there were friends of the colonists in England, who pleaded their cause with success.

Notwithstanding their exertions, however, an order in council was obtained, for preventing the departure of ships bound with passengers to New England; and a requisition was made for producing the letters patent of the company in England. This requisition was evaded. A special commission was then issued to the archbishop of Canterbury and others, for regulating the civil and ecclesiastical affairs of the colonies, with power to revoke charters.

When intelligence of this proceeding reached Boston, coupled with the rumour that a governor-general was on his way to assume the control of affairs, the colonies began to prepare for resistance. Money was raised for erecting fortifications, and the boldest measures were determined on.

Meantime the council of Plymouth had resigned its charter, after parcelling out the territory among its members, which they had already granted by patents to others. They

were not able, however, to take possession of the territory thus claimed, without the aid of government. At their instance a *quo warranto* was issued against the company of Massachusetts Bay, and judgment was pronounced against its members. The other patentees of the Plymouth company were outlawed. But the death of Mason, their most active enemy, and the civil disturbances in England prevented any further proceedings for the time.

The persecution of the Puritans raged with great fury in England. The punishments of scourging, mutilation, imprisonment, and the pillory were inflicted on great numbers of them; and when they attempted to fly from their persecutors to the safe asylum of the New World, the ships in which they proposed to embark were detained. In 1638, a squadron of eight ships, preparing to sail for New England, was detained in the Thames, by order of the privy council. This detention lasted, however, but a few days.

It has been affirmed by historians, that Hampden and Cromwell were about to embark in this fleet; but Mr. Bancroft, in his history, has conclusively shown that this assertion is without foundation.

During the civil wars of England, the colonies were left in a state of peace and prosperity. The population increased rapidly. Twenty-one thousand two hundred emigrants had arrived before the assembling of the Long Parliament, and a million of dollars had been expended on the plantations. Agriculture, ship building, the fisheries, and an extensive commerce in furs, lumber, grain, and fish, were the chief pursuits of the inhabitants. Their institutions of religion and civil government were highly favourable to habits of industry and economy; labour rendered their soil productive, and the natural result was a rapid increase of wealth and population.

The members of the Long Parliament, being Puritans themselves, were disposed to extend every encouragement to the Puritan colonies. They freed the colonists from all taxation on exports and imports, and declared their 1641. approbation of the enterprise in which they were engaged. The colonists accepted the courtesy, but were careful to avoid too close a connection with these unsought friends.

In 1641, New Hampshire was annexed to Massachusetts, by request of the people, and on equal terms; the inhabitants of the former province not being required to qualify its free-

men or deputies, for a participation in the business of legislation, by church membership.

As early as 1637, a union of the colonies of New England had been proposed at a meeting of the leading magistrates and elders of Connecticut, held in Boston, but it was not until 1643, that a confederation was effected, embracing the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, under the title of the United Colonies of New England. Their declared object was the protection of the lives, property, and liberties of the whole, against foreign or internal dangers. The local jurisdiction of the several states was carefully guarded. Two commissioners from each colony were to assemble annually to deliberate on the affairs of the confederacy. The measures which they determined were merely recommended to the several colonies, to be carried into effect by their local authorities.

Rhode Island was excluded from the union, because it declined to come under the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and the people of Providence Plantations and Maine were not admitted on account of the want of harmony between their religious views and those of the members of the confederacy.

One of the chief offices of the commissioners of the United Colonies was the regulation of Indian affairs; and their intervention was required soon after they had become organised, Miantonomoh, the sachem of the Narragansetts, prompted by an ancient grudge against Uncas, chief of the Mohegans, suddenly gathered his warriors, to the number of 1000, and fell upon the hated tribe with great fury. He was defeated and taken prisoner; and Uncas applied to the commissioners for advice respecting the manner in which he should be disposed of. They inquired into the circumstances of the affair, and finding that Miantonomoh had killed a servant of Uncas, in time of peace, they pronounced him guilty of murder. How far an independent chieftain was amenable to their tribunal may be doubted. The Indian customs warranted his execution, and accordingly he was put to death by Uncas himself, on a spot beyond the jurisdiction of the colony. His tribe were greatly exasperated, but durst not attempt to avenge his death.

In 1646, the people of Connecticut purchased the territory at the mouth of the river, from the assigns of the Earl of Warwick.

Rhode Island, having been excluded from the union of the colonies, sought the immediate protection of the mother country. For this purpose the local government despatched Roger Williams himself, the founder of the colony, to England. He was warmly received by the republicans, who had then the control of affairs, and found no difficulty in obtaining from parliament, a free and absolute charter of civil government.

On his return, he took letters of safe conduct from parliament, and landed at Boston, whence, it will be recollected, he had been banished with an ignominy as signal as his return was now triumphant. His return to his own state was marked with every demonstration of joy and welcome. On his arrival at Seekonk, he was met by a fleet of canoes, manned by the people of Providence, and conducted joyously to the opposite shore.

The affairs of Rhode Island were not yet finally settled. The executive council in England had granted to Coddington a separate jurisdiction of the islands. Justly apprehending that this would lead to the speedy dissolution of their little state, and the annexation of its ports to the neighbouring governments, the people sent Williams again to England, accompanied by John Clark; and the danger was removed by the rescinding of Coddington's commission, and the confirmation of the charter. (1652.)

The province of Maine had made but little progress under the auspices of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, as lord proprietary. He had granted a city charter to the town of York, which contained some 300 inhabitants, and sent out his cousin Thomas, to support the dignity of a deputy governor. He had expended much time and money on his favourite scheme of colonisation, but died at an advanced age, without realising any benefit from it.

After his death a dispute arose between the colonists who were settled under his charter, and those who had settled under Rigby's patent for Lygonia. The magistrates of the neighbouring colony of Massachusetts were appealed to by both parties; and after a hearing, the litigants were informed that neither had a clear right, and were recommended to live in peace. The heirs of Gorges seemed to have forgotten the care of his colony, and his agents withdrew. Under these circumstances, the inhabitants of Piscataqua, York, and Wells accepted the offer of Massachusetts to place themselves under

1652. her protection. The province was formally annexed to the Bay colony, and the towns, situated farther east, readily sent in their adhesion.

In 1655, Oliver Cromwell offered the people of New England, a settlement in the island of Jamaica, provided they would emigrate thither, and possess its fertile lands and orange groves. But the people were too much attached to the country of their adoption to listen to such a proposal. They would have considered it a species of sacrilege, to abandon to the savages the consecrated asylum of their religion. The protector's offer was respectfully declined.

The religious sentiments of the Puritan colonists gave a peculiar character to all their institutions. Religion was with them an affair of state; and to preserve its purity was considered a paramount duty of the civil magistrate. We have seen the effects of this principle in the history of the Antinomian controversy, which led to the expulsion of Anne Hutchinson, and her disciples. It was now applied to the Anabaptists and Quakers.

Clark, a baptist of Rhode Island, of exemplary character, was fined for preaching at Lynn, and Holmes, for refusing to pay a fine inflicted for his religious opinions, was publicly whipped.

The union of church and state had become so intimate that offences against religion, as it was understood by the governing powers, were treated as civil crimes. Absence from public worship was punished by a fine. The utterance of certain opinions was denounced as blasphemy, and visited with fine, imprisonment, exile, or death. Ministers not ordained in the regular manner were silenced by the public authorities; and the very men who had fled from England to gain an asylum for religious freedom, were refusing the slightest toleration to any religious opinions but their own.

It is not surprising that, in this state of the colony, certain members of the society of Friends, who came into Massachusetts, and made known their sentiments, were dealt with in a summary manner. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, members of the society, who arrived in Boston in July, 1656, were put in close custody for five weeks and then banished. A special law was passed, prohibiting their admission into the colony; and a fine was imposed on such as should entertain them. The Quakers not being deterred from visiting the forbidden ground by these regulations, a law was finally passed which

banished them on pain of death. Several persons were actually hanged under this enactment.

The people of New England were early impressed with the importance of a provision for general instruction. In 1647, a law was passed for the establishment of public schools, requiring one in every township containing fifty householders; and a grammar school where boys could be fitted for college in every town containing one hundred families. A sum equal to a year's rate of the whole colony of Massachusetts had been voted for the erection of a college, in 1636; and in 1638, John Harvard, who died soon after his arrival in this country, bequeathed half his estate and all his library to the college. The institution has ever since borne his name. It was supported with great zeal not only by the inhabitants of the Bay colony, but by all the other members of the New England confederacy; and the example of Massachusetts was followed by the others in the establishment of public schools. The benefits of this early and constant attention to education have been felt in every period of their history; and the character which it has impressed on the people of New England has given them a degree of influence and importance in the Union, which could have been acquired by no other means.

CHAPTER XIII.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE RESTORATION.

THE restoration of Charles II. could hardly be considered an auspicious event by the people of New England. On the contrary, it afforded them the strongest reason to expect an abridgment of their commercial advantages, and an attack upon their religious and political privileges. They were accordingly in no haste to recognise the royal authority. In July, 1660, Whaley and Goffe, two of the late king's judges, arrived in Boston, and announced the restoration of Charles II., but represented the mother country as being in a very unsettled state. They were freely permitted to travel through New England, and received many attentions from the inhabitants.

When, at length, it was known that the king's authority was firmly established in England, and that complaints against the colony of Massachusetts had been presented to the privy council and both houses of parliament, by Quakers, royalists, and others adverse to its interests, the people became convinced of the necessity of decisive action. A general court was convened, and an address was voted to the king, vindicating the colony from the charges of its enemies, professing the most dutiful attachment to the sovereign, and soliciting protection for their civil and ecclesiastical institutions. A similar address was made to parliament, and the agent of the colony was instructed to exert himself to obtain a continuance of the commercial immunities which had been granted by the Long Parliament.

Before he had time to obey these instructions a duty of five per cent. on exports and imports had already been imposed; and before the session closed, the famous navigation act was re-enacted. The king returned a gracious answer to the colonial address, accompanied by an order for the apprehension of Goffe and Whaley.

This small measure of royal favour was joyfully received, and a day of thanksgiving was appointed, to acknowledge the favour of Heaven in disposing the king to clemency. A formal requisition for the regicide judges was sent to New Haven, whither they had gone; but matters were so arranged that they escaped from their pursuers, and lived in New England to the end of their days.

Apprehensions of danger to their civil and religious rights were still felt by the colonists, notwithstanding the bland professions of the king. Rumours of a meditated attack on their commercial privileges, and of the coming of a governor-general for all North America, were seriously believed. This led to the famous Declaration of Rights on the part of Massachusetts, in which the powers and duties of the colony were very clearly and ably defined. Having thus declared the terms on which his authority should be recognised, the general court caused the king to be solemnly proclaimed as their undoubted prince and sovereign lord.

Agents were then sent over to England to protect the interests of the colony, who were favourably received, and soon returned to Boston, bringing a letter from the king, confirming the colonial charter, and granting an amnesty to all political offenders who were not already attainted for high treason;

but requiring that the oath of allegiance should be administered; that justice should be distributed in the king's name; that the church of England should be tolerated; and that the qualification of church membership for civil offices should be dispensed with.

Of all these requisitions, the only one which was complied with was that which directed the judicial proceedings to be conducted in the king's name. The others were published, but reserved for deliberation. The agents, Bradstreet and Norton, who had returned with the letter, were so severely reproached for not being able to procure better terms of acceptance from the king, that one of them, Norton, actually died of a broken heart. His unhappy fate seemed to convince the colonists of their injustice, and his death was universally and sincerely mourned.

Rhode Island was not backward in acknowledging the restored king. He was early proclaimed in the colony, and an agent being despatched to England, soon succeeded in obtaining a charter which granted the most ample privileges. It gave to the patentees the title of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence. The form of government, prescribed by it, was the usual one of a governor, assistants, and representatives elected by the freemen. It was received with the greatest satisfaction, as it confirmed to the colonists the democratical constitution to which they had always been accustomed.

Connecticut deputed John Winthrop, son of the celebrated governor of Massachusetts, as their agent at court, who had no difficulty in obtaining a charter in almost every respect the same with that which had been granted to Rhode Island. It differed from it, however, in requiring the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be administered to the inhabitants. By the new charter, New Haven was united with Connecticut; an arrangement which was for some time opposed by the people of the former colony, although they finally concurred in it. Winthrop, on his return, was cordially welcomed; and was annually chosen governor of the colony during the remainder of his life.

The privileges confirmed by these charters were subsequently of immense importance to the cause of liberty.

The English government had always questioned the right of the Dutch to their settlements in what are now called the Middle States; the history and extent of which we shall no-

tice in another place. Charles II. now resolved to dispossess them, and accordingly granted the territory to his brother, the duke of York, who sent colonel Nichols with four ships and three hundred soldiers for the purpose of taking possession. In the same ships came four commissioners, 'empowered to hear and determine complaints and appeals in causes, as well military as civil, within New England, and to proceed for settling the peace and security of the country.' Their real object was to find pretexts for recalling the liberal charters of the colonies. (1664.)

The people and government of Massachusetts were awake to their danger, and exhibited an admirable mixture of firmness and address in a crisis so alarming. On the arrival of the commissioners in Boston, their credentials were laid before the council, with a letter from the king, requiring prompt assistance in the expedition against New Netherlands. The general court was convened, and after declaring their loyalty and their attachment to the charter, voted a subsidy of two hundred men. Meantime, colonel Nichols proceeded to Manhadoes, and reduced the colony before the Massachusetts troops could arrive, so that their services were never required.

The commissioners now called the attention of the general court to the king's letter, received two years before, but not much regarded. Their recommendation was complied with so far, that a law was passed extending the elective franchise to persons who were not church members. The assembly next transmitted a letter to the king, expressive of their apprehension of danger to their rights, from the extraordinary powers of the commissioners, and concluding with these remarkable words: 'Let our government live; our patent live; our magistrates live; our religious enjoyments live; so shall we all yet have farther cause to say from our hearts, let the king live for ever.'

The commissioners, meantime, had proceeded to the other colonies. In Plymouth and in Rhode Island they met with no opposition. In Connecticut they were rather civilly received, and found no reason for complaint. In New Hampshire and Maine they decided in favour of the claims of Gorges and Mason, and erected a royal government in those provinces. They then returned to Boston, and renewed their disputes with the general court, which were continued with great animosity until the commissioners were recalled, and Massachusetts was ordered to send agents to England to an-

swer complaints against their proceedings. This order was evaded.

Massachusetts, soon afterwards, resumed her authority over New Hampshire and Maine.

After the departure of the commissioners, New England enjoyed a season of prosperous tranquillity. The king was too much engrossed by the calamities and discontents of his subjects at home to disturb the colonies.

This state of repose was interrupted by the famous war of King Philip. This prince was the second son of Massasoit, but he was far from inheriting the pacific and friendly disposition of his father. He was engaged for five years in maturing an extensive conspiracy, which had for its object the utter extermination of the English colonies. In 1675, he commenced hostilities, and by means of alliance with other tribes, he was able to bring three thousand warriors into the field. Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, united in opposing him. The war raged with great fury, and with various success, until August, 1676, when Philip, after a series of disasters, in which his family and chief counsellors were all destroyed, himself fell a victim to the treachery of one of his own tribe. The tribes bordering on Maine and New Hampshire, who had risen at the same time, abandoned the war on receiving the news of Philip's death.

While this war was raging, the King of England was endeavouring to wrest from Massachusetts the control of New Hampshire and Maine. He had been for some time treating for the purchase of these provinces from the heirs of Mason and Gorges, intending to bestow them on his son, the Duke of Monmouth; but while he delayed to complete the negotiation, Massachusetts purchased Maine for 1,200 pounds, and refused to give it up. New Hampshire having become a distinct colony, the legislature expressed a lively regret at being obliged, by the will of the sovereign, to relinquish their connection with Massachusetts.

The laws restricting commerce were made the subject of dispute between the colony of Massachusetts and the crown. Randolph, an active enemy of the colonial government, was sent over to act as collector at Boston. He was almost always unsuccessful in his suits for the recovery of duties, and finally returned to England. The controversy lasted until Massachusetts was compelled to relinquish her charter. (1684.) Charles II. died before completing his system for the subjugation of New England.

His successor, James II., appointed a president and council as a temporary government for Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and the Narragansetts. These commissioners proceeded with great moderation, and were superseded by the appointment of Sir Edward Andros, as captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, New Plymouth, Pemaquid, and Narragansett, with the consent of a council to be appointed by the crown, to make laws and lay taxes.

Andros arrived in Boston in 1685, and revoked the charter of Rhode Island, notwithstanding the submission of that colony. Connecticut would have shared the same fate, but the charter was concealed in a tree until the danger was past. The charter oak was, for ages after, held in remembrance.

The administration of Andros was rendered odious to the people by a variety of exactions and oppressive regulations. Their land titles were declared void, and new patents were offered at enormous prices. The object of the royal governor appears to have been to amass a fortune for himself, to break the charters, and unite the several colonies in one, for the purpose of effectually resisting the encroachments of the French from Canada.

Mather, an ancient divine and politician, was sent to England to obtain redress; but the king was inflexible in his purpose of uniting the colonies, and annexed New York and the Jerseys to the government of Andros.

The relief which he denied was brought by the revolution of 1688, which was no sooner known in Boston than the inhabitants joyfully proclaimed the new sovereigns, William and Mary. They had already, on the first rumour of the arrival of the sovereigns in England, imprisoned Andros and fifty of his adherents, and restored the government to the ancient magistrates. This example was speedily followed by Connecticut and Rhode Island.

New Hampshire was re-annexed to Massachusetts by its own act; but subsequently separated by the desire of King William.

The revolution of 1688 afforded the people of Massachusetts grounds for expecting the restitution of their charter. Agents were sent to England for this purpose, but their efforts were not attended with success. The king was determined to retain at his own disposal the appointment of governor. He was, however, at length induced to grant a new charter,

although of a less liberal character than the former one. It gave to the king the power of appointing a governor, who might call, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve the legislature at pleasure. He had also the appointment of all military officers, and, with the consent of his council, of all officers belonging to the courts of justice. The charter also annexed Plymouth and Nova Scotia to Massachusetts; but omitted New Hampshire, which always afterwards remained a separate government. On the arrival (May, 1692) of the new governor, Sir William Phips (a native of New England), the general court was convened, and accepted the charter.

While these events were passing, a war with France was raging, which involved New England and New York in a series of bloody and desolating actions with the Canadians and Indians. Among other atrocities, the village of Schenectady was surprised by a party of French and Indians, and many of the inhabitants massacred. The borders of New Hampshire and Maine experienced similar horrors from the same unrelenting enemies.

Determined to carry the war into the enemy's country, the general court of Massachusetts planned and executed (1690) a descent upon Port Royal, under Sir William Phips, which was completely successful; and all Acadia was subjugated. Another against Quebec, in which they had the assistance of New York and Connecticut, failed for want of decision and energy in Walley, the commander.

The general court was obliged to issue bills of credit to pay the expenses of the army—a measure which was afterwards productive of much inconvenience and discontent, as the bills suffered a heavy depreciation in the hands of the soldiers.

In 1693, an expedition against Martinique, undertaken by the colonists, failed; and in 1697, Port Royal was recovered by France, and all Acadia resumed its allegiance to that country. The peace of Ryswick afforded the colonists of each country, as well as the belligerent powers in Europe, a brief repose.

When hostilities were renewed in Europe, in 1702, the terrible border war was recommenced. A treaty of neutrality between the governor of Canada, and the Five Nations of Indians, having been negotiated, New York was left unmolested; and the whole weight of the war fell on New England. An ineffectual attempt was made to reduce Acadia

in 1707, by Governor Dudley, of Massachusetts, with an army of 1000 men raised in the colonies east of Connecticut; and in 1708, Haverhill in Massachusetts was burnt by the Indians, and about one hundred persons killed, and many more carried into captivity. Similar incursions were made along the whole northern border, from the river St. Croix to the great lakes; and the history of those times abounds with stories of scalping and plundering parties of Indians, attacking the defenceless villages, burning the houses, killing numbers of the helpless inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, and then hurrying back to Canada with a handful of captives, before a force could be raised sufficient to resist or punish the aggression.

The brave colonists were by no means passive under these injuries. We are surprised in reading the annals of this early period of their settlement, at the energy of character and extent of resources displayed by them. Believing that the French were the instigators of all the Indian hostilities, they were constantly raising large fleets and armies for the purpose of depriving them of their American possessions. Expeditions were repeatedly fitted out for Canada and Nova Scotia, at the sole expense of the New England colonies. The British government was too much occupied in humbling the pride of Louis XIV. to render more than occasional and insufficient aid to the colonists in their arduous struggle. Some regiments were furnished for the expedition, which took Port Royal in 1710, and this grace was acknowledged by giving the captured place the name of Annapolis, in honour of Queen Anne.

A few regiments of Marlborough's veterans were sent over to assist in the grand expedition against Quebec and Montreal, which took place in 1711; and failed, notwithstanding the unsparing efforts of the colonies in raising men, and the lavish expenditure of bills of credit. When the treaty of Utrecht at length afforded them a breathing time, the colonists found themselves weakened in numbers, exhausted of funds, and incumbered with a heavy public debt. They, no doubt, considered it a hard case that they should be compelled to depend so much upon their own resources. But this was the most fortunate circumstance of their condition. Had they been perfectly protected, they would scarcely have taken the trouble to learn the art of war. The exertions they were compelled to make in their own

defence rendered them a young nation of soldiers; and paved the way for the successful assertion of their independence.

After the return of peace, the New England colonies found themselves embarrassed with a heavy public debt, the consequence of the unavoidable emission of bills of credit for the payment of the soldiers. Various expedients were proposed for relief; but the evil proved a lasting one; and all the exertions of the different legislatures could not prevent a constant depreciation of the paper, and consequent loss to the holders.

In Massachusetts a controversy arose (1619,) which is worthy of particular attention, as it evinces in the people that jealous guardianship of their rights, and that determined adherence to a principle of freedom, once adopted, which runs through the whole of their history; and which rendered that state on all occasions of collision with the mother country, the acknowledged champion of the New England confederacy.

When, by their new charter, the people of this colony were constrained to receive a governor appointed by the king, they established a system of donations, and free gifts to this functionary, undoubtedly with a view to attach him to their own cause, and identify his interests with those of the colony. Determined to break up this system, Queen Anne gave peremptory orders that the governors should receive no more gifts; and required that the legislature should fix their salaries permanently at a sum named by herself.

The wary republicans regarded this as an inordinate stretch of arbitrary power; and offered the most determined resistance. This led to constant misunderstanding between the governor and his council, and the legislature. One of the disputes related to the right of the governor to negative the appointment of the speaker, and the right of the house to adjourn. An appeal was carried to England, and the consequence was an explanatory charter favouring the governor's views, which after some difficulty the legislature accepted.

In 1728, Mr. Burnet, who had been appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, arrived in Boston, and was received with great pomp. When the legislature met, he communicated the king's instructions to insist on an

established salary, and his own determination to adhere to them. This was the signal for a new contest, and a long series of vexatious proceedings followed. The legislature would readily vote him a large sum of money; but they firmly declined to bind themselves to any annual payment, and the governor, to exhaust their patience, changed the place of their meeting from town to town. The contest lasted for three years, extending into governor Belcher's administration; and at length was terminated by the governor's obtaining from the king permission to accept such sums as might be given by the assembly. The people by inflexible firmness had gained their point.

In 1744, war broke out between France and England. This was immediately followed by a descent on Nova Scotia, which had been ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht. The French governor of Cape Breton took possession of Canseau in Nova Scotia, and made the garrison and inhabitants prisoners of war. He then attacked Annapolis, but was defeated by the arrival of a reinforcement from Massachusetts. These offensive operations determined the English colonists to attempt the complete subjugation of the French possessions in North America.

The island of Cape Breton was at that time deemed a highly important post for the protection of the French commerce and fisheries. Its fortifications had already cost thirty millions of livres and twenty-five years of labour. It was the bulwark of the French colonies.

Shirley, who was at this time governor of Massachusetts, had conceived the project of conquering this island. Information of the position and strength of Louisbourg, the principal fortress on Cape Breton, and of the design of the French to send a large fleet for the conquest of Nova Scotia, had been brought to him by prisoners who had returned from captivity, and this confirmed Shirley in his design.

He accordingly made application for assistance to the British admiralty, and obtained a promise of the co-operation of Commodore Warren with a large fleet. Mr. Vaughan, son of the lieutenant-governor of New Hampshire, had convinced himself of the practicability of the conquest of Cape Breton, and his strong representations served to confirm the governor still further in his favourite purpose. He now proceeded to act with a decision corresponding with his high hopes of success.

Having enjoined secrecy on the members of the general court, he laid before them his project. They deliberated upon it; but soon pronounced the enterprise too hazardous and uncertain to warrant their engaging in it. One of their members, who performed family devotion in his lodgings, so far forgot the governor's injunction of secrecy as to pray for the Divine blessing on the proposed expedition. It thus became known to the people; and numerous petitions were sent in to the general court praying for a reconsideration of their vote, and the adoption of the governor's design. The colonists were anxious to acquire Louisbourg, in order to save their fisheries from ruin.

Carried away by the enthusiasm of the people, the legislature resolved to prosecute the enterprise, and all classes were intent on the business of preparation. A general embargo was laid; funds were raised by voluntary contributions and by an emission of bills of credit; troops were embarked from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Connecticut; and by the middle of April, 1745, an army of four thousand men, under the command of Colonel Pepperel, was assembled at Canseau, where they were soon joined by Admiral Warren with a considerable part of his fleet. They soon after embarked for Chapeaurouge bay, and the fleet cruised off Louisbourg.

A landing being effected near Louisbourg, with little opposition, Vaughan, with four hundred men, marched round to the north-east part of the harbour, and set fire to some warehouses containing spirituous liquors and naval stores. The smoke concealed the number of the assailants, which being exaggerated by the fears of the French garrison, they abandoned the fort and fled into the town. Next morning, Vaughan was enabled to surprise a battery, and hold possession of it until the arrival of a reinforcement.

The troops were now occupied for fourteen nights in dragging cannon from the landing place, two miles through a deep morass, to the encampment. While the siege was thus proceeding, the British fleet, off the harbour, captured the *Vigilant*, a French frigate, having on board a reinforcement of five hundred and sixty men and supplies for the garrison. Soon after this an attack was made on the island battery by four hundred men, which failed with the loss of sixty killed, and one hundred and sixteen taken prisoners. But even this disaster seems to have been fortunate; for

the prisoners united in giving the French a most exaggerated and formidable account of the English force.

Deprived of his expected supplies of men and provisions, and apprehending an immediate assault, the French governor of Louisbourg, Duchambon, determined to surrender, and in a few days sent in his capitulation. An examination of the fortress after its surrender convinced the victors that it would have proved impregnable against any assault.

It may well be supposed that the news of this important conquest spread universal joy through New England. It had been the people's own enterprise; undertaken at their own earnest solicitation; fitted out from their own resources of men and money, and accomplished by their own courage and perseverance. It remains a lasting monument of New England spirit and resolution.

Pepperel and Shirley were rewarded by the British government with the honours of knighthood; and parliament ordered reimbursements to be made for the expenses of the expedition. When Duvivier, the French admiral, charged with a fleet and an army to attempt the conquest of Nova Scotia, heard of the fall of Louisbourg, he relinquished the expedition and returned to Europe.

Shirley now wrote to the British government for reinforcements of men and ships, for the purpose of attempting the conquest of Canada, and raised a large body of forces in the colonies. But before offensive operations could be commenced, news was brought that the Duke d'Anville had arrived in Nova Scotia with a formidable armament, intended for the invasion of New England. The apprehensions caused by this intelligence were soon after dissipated by the arrival of some prisoners set at liberty by the French, who reported that the fleet had suffered so severely by storms on its passage, and the sickness of the troops, that it was in no condition to make a descent on New England. It sailed from Chebucto, however, for the purpose of attacking Annapolis, and was again overtaken and scattered by a terrible storm. The ships which escaped destruction returned singly to France. The French and Indians, who had invaded Nova Scotia, were afterwards expelled by the Massachusetts troops.

The French war was soon after terminated by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which restored to both parties all the possessions taken during the war, so that the colonists had the

mortification of seeing their dear-bought conquest of Cape Breton restored to the French.

After the return of peace, the legislature of Massachusetts redeemed her bills of credit; and thus restored stability and vigour to her commerce, which had languished for some years in consequence of the depreciation of the currency.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left the question of the boundaries between the American possessions of France and England unsettled; and the controversies concerning it were assuming an aspect more serious in proportion to the increasing wealth and importance of the respective territories. The right of discovery was pleaded on both sides, and the right of prior possession was urged wherever it existed; but so large a part of the country was still unsettled, and even unvisited, that the question of boundaries opened a wide field for discussion.

The line between Canada and New England, the boundaries of Nova Scotia, and the extent of Louisiana, were all subjects of dispute. The last-mentioned territory had been acquired by the French in 1722, when New Orleans received the remnant of a colony of that nation, which had been planted near Mobile. It was now beginning to flourish; and settlements were extending up the Mississippi, towards the great lakes. This circumstance gave rise to a grand project for connecting New Orleans with Canada by a chain of forts extending along the whole western and northern frontier of the British colonies.

Such a project was too important not to receive the most earnest attention of both nations. Its execution became the grand object of desire to one and dread to the other; and was the central point of all the operations of the succeeding French war, which will become the subject of attention in another part of this history.

At the period to which we have now brought our narrative, the New England colonies had acquired no small importance, not only in the view of the other North American communities, but of Europe. The inhabitants had displayed a degree of hardihood and perseverance in their early settlements, an activity and enterprise in their commercial operations, a firmness in defence of their liberties, and an indomitable courage in their wars, which could not pass unnoticed. Their resources in agriculture and trade were greatly developed; and their population exceeded

a million of souls. The influence which they exercised on the subsequent destinies of the whole country was commensurate with these important advantages of character and ability.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONISATION OF NEW YORK.

THE territory, now occupied by the middle states of the American Union, was originally settled by the Dutch and Swedes. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in the service of the East India company of Holland, set sail from the Texel for the discovery of a north-west passage to India. On his voyage he touched at Long Island, and sailed a considerable distance up the river to which his own name was afterwards given. The right of discovery, supposed to be thus acquired, and the favourable reports of subsequent voyagers, induced a company of Dutch merchants to establish a trading settlement; and the States-general promoted the enterprise by granting them a patent for the exclusive trade of the Hudson river. They built a fort near Albany, which they called Fort Orange, and a few trading houses on Manhattan island, which is now called the island of New York. These events took place in 1613.

The claim, thus established by the Dutch, was regarded by them as valid; but in the same year the English, who considered themselves entitled to all North America, because the continent was first discovered by Cabot, sent Captain Argall from Virginia to dispossess all intruders on the coast. Having taken possession of Port Royal, St. Saviour, and St. Croix, French settlements in Acadia, Argall paid a visit to the Dutch at Manhattan, and ordered them to surrender the place. The Dutch governor having no means of defence submitted himself and his colony to the British authority, and consented to pay tribute.

In the year following, however, a new governor having arrived at the fort, with a reinforcement of settlers, the claim of the English to dependence, was forthwith defied, and the payment of tribute, imposed by Argall, resisted. For the

better protection of their claim to the country, they erected a fort at the south-west point of the island. Here they were left undisturbed by the English for many years; maturing their settlements, increasing their numbers, and establishing a prosperous and 'quiet little colony.'

In 1621, the attention of the government of Holland being directed to the importance of this settlement in America, they granted a patent to the Dutch West India Company, embracing the territory from the Connecticut river to the Delaware, under the title of the New Netherlands. Under this company, the colony was considerably extended. The city of New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York, was built on Manhattan island; and in 1623, at the distance of 150 miles higher up the Hudson river, the foundations were laid of the city of Albany. Their first fort in this place was called Fort Aurania, a name which was afterwards changed to Fort Orange. The same year they built a fort on the east side of the Delaware, which they named Fort Nassau. Ten years afterwards, they erected a fort on the Connecticut river near Hartford, and called it Fort Good Hope. Their possessions were thus extended, or rather scattered, from the Connecticut to the Delaware.

The Swedes were already settled on the Delaware; and the claims of the two nations were afterwards the subject of controversy, until the final subjugation of the whole territory by the Dutch. The English extended their settlements to the Connecticut, and after disputes, which lasted many years, finally ejected the Dutch from their fort on that river.

During their occupancy of this post, however, the Dutch received frequent assistance from their English neighbours, in their wars with the Indians. So little accustomed were the Dutch to this species of warfare, that, on one occasion, their governor, Kieft, was obliged to engage the services of Captain Underhill, who had been banished from Boston, for his eccentricities in religion. This commander, with one hundred and fifty men, succeeded in making good the defence of the Dutch settlements. In 1646, a great battle was fought on Strickland's Plain, in which the Dutch gained the victory.

In 1650, Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of New Netherlands, went to Hartford, and demanded from the commissioners of the United Colonies of New England a full surrender of the lands on Connecticut river. Several days were spent in controversy on the subject, and articles of agreement

were finally signed, by which Long Island was divided between the parties; and the Dutch were permitted to retain only those lands on the Connecticut which they held in actual possession.

On the Delaware, Stuyvesant defended the claims of his country against both the English and the Swedes. In 1651, he built Fort Casimir, on the river, near New Castle. The Swedes, claiming the country, protested against this invasion of their rights; and Risingh, their governor, treacherously surprised it, and taking possession, compelled the garrison to swear allegiance to Christiana, queen of Sweden. Stuyvesant taking fire at this outrage, determined to invade and subdue the whole Swedish settlement. He accordingly proceeded to execute his purpose, and easily succeeded in so far intimidating the Swedes, that they quietly surrendered the whole of their establishments, and soon became incorporated with the conquerors.

During the next ten years, Stuyvesant was occupied in strengthening and extending the colony of New Netherlands. But he was only rendering it a more valuable acquisition for his powerful neighbours. Charles II. was now (1664,) king of England, and forgetting the friends who had afforded him shelter during his long exile, he sought every pretext for a quarrel with Holland. Among others he asserted his claim to the province of New Netherlands; and, without regarding the claims of the actual occupants, he executed a charter conveying to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole territory lying between the Connecticut and the Delaware. No sooner did the Duke of York obtain this grant, than he conveyed to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, all that portion now constituting the state of New Jersey.

To carry the king's grant into effect, Colonel Nichols was sent out with a fleet and army. After touching at Boston he sailed for New Amsterdam, and, anchoring before the place, demanded its surrender from the governor. Stuyvesant was for making the best defence he could, but being overruled by the fears of the people, who dreaded the storming and sacking of their city, he was induced to sign a treaty of capitulation of the most favourable character. Private property was respected, and Dutch vessels were still permitted to come to the colony for the purpose of trading or bringing settlers. The inhabitants retained their estates, and became incorporated with the new comers. Stuyvesant himself remained in the colony to the end of his life.

Out of compliment to the patentee, New Amsterdam was thenceforward called New York; and this name was extended to the whole province. Fort Orange was soon after surrendered, and received the name of Albany. Carteret, who had been despatched to reduce Fort Orange, effected a treaty with the Indians of the Five Nations, which was productive of lasting benefits to the colonists. Sir Robert Car received the surrender of the garrison on the Delaware, on the first of October, and the entire subjugation of New Netherlands to the English was thus completed.

Colonel Nichols was the first English governor of New York. His government was absolute, but paternal. On the judicial institutions of the Dutch, he ingrafted the trial by jury; and having caused the laws to be revised, improved, and formed into one code, he transmitted them to England; where they received the confirmation of the Duke of York. On the 12th of June, 1665, New York became an incorporated city.

During Colonel Nichols's administration (1666), a war with Holland having broken out, apprehensions were entertained of an attempt to recover New York by the Dutch. Heavy taxes were laid for the purpose of defence, and the people complaining, Nichols nobly sacrificed his private property for the public service. No attack took place, however; and at the peace of Breda, the colony was ceded to England in exchange for Surinam.

Next year Colonel Nichols found himself compelled, by the sacrifices of property he had made, to resign his appointment. He was succeeded by Colonel Lovelace, during whose administration of six years, the colony was happy and prosperous. Towards the close of his term of office, war with Holland having again broken out, a small squadron was despatched to destroy the commerce of the English colonies. After having accomplished this purpose to a considerable extent, the commander made a sudden descent on New York, and Lovelace being absent, Colonel Manning, who had been left in command, sent down a messenger, and treacherously surrendered the place without the least opposition. It remained in the hands of the Dutch but a few months, being restored to the English again at the treaty of Westminster, in 1674.

The Duke of York now took out a new patent. It empowered him to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he or his assigns should establish, and to administer justice

according to the laws of England, allowing an appeal to the king in council. It prohibited trade without his permission, and imposed the usual duties on exports and imports. Under the authority of this charter, the Duke of York retained the government of New York until his accession to the throne of England as James II. He first commissioned Andros, who was afterwards the oppressor of New England, to be governor, under his authority, of all his territories, from the Connecticut to the Delaware. In October the Dutch resigned their authority to Andros, who forthwith entered upon the duties of his administration. During its continuance he exhibited much of that harshness, severity, and rapacity which afterwards rendered him so odious in the eastern colonies. In 1682, Colonel Thomas Dongan was appointed governor. His administration is memorable as the era of the commencement of representative government in the colony. The royal proprietary having perceived in the people pretty unequivocal symptoms of discontent with the arbitrary system which prevailed in Andros's time, and being solicited by the council, court of assizes, and corporation, consented to grant New York the same form of government which hitherto was enjoyed in the colonies, and accordingly transferred the legislative power to an assembly of the representatives of the people. The assembly was to consist of a council of ten members, and a house of representatives chosen by the people, composed of eighteen members; but its laws were to be ratified by the proprietary before they could take effect. This free constitution was received by the people at the very period when the colonists of New England were deprived of their charters. As an admission of the principle of representative government it was important; but the people, having gained their point, seem to have settled down into that happy and contented state, which required very little attention either to the framing or executing of laws, since they only had two sessions of the legislature for the next six years.

Although we are not fond of statistical details, we cannot refrain from presenting an extract from Graham's history, exhibiting the condition of the province at this period. It is particularly interesting when we contrast these small beginnings with the present extent and resources of that powerful state.

'The city of New York, in 1678, appears to have contained three thousand four hundred and thirty inhabitants,

and to have owned no larger navy than three ships, eight sloops, and seven boats. No account appears to have been collected of the population of the whole province, which contained twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes. About fifteen vessels, on an average, traded yearly to the port of New York, importing English manufactures to the value of 50,000*l.*, and exporting the productions of the colony, which consisted of land produce of all sorts, among which are particularised beef, pease, lumber, tobacco, peltry, procured from the Indians, and sixty thousand bushels of wheat. Of servants the number was small, and they were much wanted. Some unfrequent and inconsiderable importations of slaves were made from Barbadoes; and there were yet but very few of these unfortunate beings in the colony. Agriculture was more generally followed than trade. A trader worth 1000*l.*, or even 500*l.*, was considered a substantial merchant, and a planter worth half that sum in moveables was accounted rich. All the estates in the province were valued at 150,000*l.* "Ministers," says Andros, "are scarce, and religions many." The duke maintained a chaplain at New York; which was the only certain endowment of the church of England. There were about twenty churches or meeting places, of which half were vacant. All districts were liable by law to the obligation of building churches and providing for ministers, whose emoluments varied from 40*l.* to 70*l.* a year, with the addition of a house and garden. But the Presbyterians and Independents, who formed the most numerous and substantial portion of the inhabitants, were the only classes who showed much willingness to procure and support their ministers. Marriages were allowed to be solemnised either by ministers or by justices of the peace. There were no beggars in the province; and the poor, who were few, were well taken care of. The number of the militia amounted to two thousand, comprehending one hundred and forty horsemen: and a standing company of soldiers was maintained, with gunners and other officers for the forts of Albany and New York. Such was the condition of the province about four years preceding the period at which we have now arrived. Four years after, (in 1686,) it was found to have improved so rapidly, that the shipping of New York amounted to ten three masted vessels, twenty sloops, and a few ketches of intermediate bulk. The militia had also increased to four thousand foot, three hundred horse, and a company of dragoons. The augmentation of inhabitants, in-

licated by this increase of military force, appears the more considerable, when we keep in view, that some time prior to this last-mentioned period, the Delaware territory had been partly surrendered to Lord Baltimore, and partly assigned to William Penn.''

The administration of Colonel Dongan was chiefly distinguished by the attention which he bestowed on Indian affairs. The confederacy of the Five Nations had long existed in the neighbourhood of the colony, and by a system of wise and politic measures, had succeeded in acquiring a degree of power and importance never attained by any other association of the North American tribes. They had adopted, among other practices, that of incorporating numbers of their conquered enemies among themselves; and the consequence was the acquisition of many hardy warriors, and even distinguished sachems and chiefs. When, subsequently to the period of which we are now writing, the Tuscarora tribe was vanquished by the South Carolina troops, it was adopted entire, and thus gave to the confederacy the name of the Six Nations.

Before the arrival of Champlain in Canada, they had driven the Adirondacs to a position near Quebec; but the aid rendered by that adventurer, and the use of fire-arms in several battles, turned the tide of war, and compelled the Five Nations to retreat into their own country in the greatest distress. The arrival of the Dutch in the Hudson river, at this critical juncture, affording them a supply of the fire-arms, to which their enemies had been indebted for success, they revived the war with such impetuosity and determination, that the nation of the Adirondacs was completely annihilated. Hence originated the hatred entertained by the confederacy against the French, and their grateful attachment to the people of New York.

In 1665, a party of French, under Courcelles, the governor of Canada, marching into their country, lost their way, and arrived in the greatest distress at Schenectady, where Corlaer, a Dutchman of some consideration, had founded a village. This man, by a simple artifice, saved them from the vengeance of the Indians, who were at that village in sufficient force to have destroyed their invaders. He gave them refreshments and sent them away. This circumstance was gratefully remembered by Courcelles; and, in 1667, a treaty of peace was signed between the Five Nations and the French, which lasted till the beginning of Colonel Dongan's administration.

Meantime the French had advanced their settlements along the St. Lawrence, and in 1672 built Fort Frontignac on its north-west bank, near Lake Ontario; and the Jesuits were conciliating the neighbouring Indians, and converting many of them to the Catholic religion.

Colonel Dongan, perceiving the danger of these encroachments to the interests of the colonies, entered, in conjunction with Lord Effingham, governor of Virginia, into a definitive treaty with the Five Nations, embracing all the English settlements and all the tribes in alliance with them. This treaty took place in 1684. It was long and inviolably adhered to. In the same year, De la Barre, the governor of Canada, invaded the country of the Five Nations; but his army was so reduced by famine and sickness, that he was compelled to sue for peace and return in disgrace. His successor, De Nouville, led a larger army into the territory and met with no better success, being defeated with a heavy loss.

By the death of Charles II. in 1685, the Duke of York succeeded to the throne of England. The people of New York now solicited a new constitution, which he had previously promised them, but were coldly refused. At the same time additional taxes were imposed; and the existence of a printing-press in the colony was strictly forbidden. Another measure of James II., which was highly injurious to the interests of the colony, was a treaty of neutrality with France, by which it was stipulated that neither party should give assistance to the Indian tribes in their wars with each other. This did not prevent the French from exciting hostilities between their Indian allies and the Five Nations, but compelled the English to refrain from assisting these their ancient friends.

In 1688, Andros was appointed governor of New York and New England. The appointment of this tyrant, and the annexation of the colony to the neighbouring ones, were measures particularly odious to the people. Andros remained at Boston, and appointed Nicholson his lieutenant governor. During his administration, the Five Nations, being at war with the French, made a sudden descent on Montreal, burned and sacked the town, killed one thousand of the inhabitants, carried away a number of prisoners, whom they burned alive, and then returned to their own country, with the loss of only three of their number. Had the English followed up this success of their allies, all Canada might have been easily conquered.

Meantime the discontent of the people had risen to an alarming height, and on receiving intelligence of the accession of William and Mary, and of the successful insurrection at Boston, which had terminated the government of Andros, they resolved to imitate the example, and effect a revolution.

Jacob Leisler, a man of eager, headlong temper, and narrow capacity, was selected for a leader. He had already resisted the payment of customs on some goods which he had imported, and alleged that there was no legitimate government in the colony. Raising a report that hostile operations were about to be commenced by the government, he took a detachment of trained bands, and, seizing the fort, declared his determination to hold it until the decision of the new sovereigns should be known.

He then despatched a messenger to king William, and, by negotiations with Massachusetts and Connecticut, succeeded in interesting the governments of these colonies on his side. A report at the same time being spread that an English fleet was approaching to assist the insurgents, all classes in New York immediately joined themselves to Leisler's party; and Nicholson, afraid of sharing the fate of the imprisoned Andros, fled to England.

Soon after Leisler's elevation to power, a letter came from the British ministry directed 'to such as, for the time, take care for administering the laws of the province,' and giving authority to perform the duties of lieutenant governor. Leisler regarded this letter as addressed to himself, and accordingly assumed the office, issued commissions, and appointed his own executive council.

A few of Nicholson's adherents, Courtlandt, the mayor of the city, Colonel Bayard, Major Schuyler, and a number of other gentlemen, jealous of the elevation of a man of inferior rank to the supreme command, retired to Albany, and seizing the fort there, declared that they held it for king William, and would have no connection with Leisler. Milbourne, the son-in-law of Leisler, was despatched to Albany to dislodge them; and an irruption of French and Indians happening at the same time, they gave up the fort and retired to the neighbouring colonies. Leisler, to revenge himself for their defection, confiscated their estates.

A convention was now called consisting of deputies from all the towns and districts, who proceeded to enact various regulations for the temporary government of the colony. The

proceedings of Leisler were of so arbitrary a character, however, that a strong party was formed in opposition to him, and every measure of his government was questioned with determined hostility. It was fortunate that the Dutch inhabitants were divided between these two parties, so that national antipathy was not superadded to party discord.

Such was the state of affairs in New York, when the miseries of foreign war and hostile invasion were added to the calamity of internal dissension. The condition of the French in Canada had been suddenly changed from the depth of distress and danger to comparative security, by the arrival of a strong reinforcement from the parent state, under the command of a skilful and active general, the old Count de Frontignac, who now became governor, and speedily retrieved the affairs of his countrymen. He first succeeded in obtaining a treaty of neutrality from the Five Nations; and, war having been declared between France and England, he collected a body of French and Indians, and despatched them in the depth of winter against New York. This party having wandered for twenty-two days through deserts, rendered trackless through the snow, approached the village of Schenectady in so exhausted a state, that they had determined to surrender themselves as prisoners of war. But arriving at a late hour on a stormy night, and finding, by means of their spies, that the inhabitants were asleep, without a guard, they suddenly resolved to refuse the mercy which they had been just on the point of imploring, and dividing themselves into several parties, they set fire to the village in various places, and attacked the inhabitants as they fled from the flames. Men, women, and children, shared the same fate. Sixty persons were massacred, and twenty-seven carried into captivity. Of the fugitives who escaped, half clad, and made their way through a storm of snow to Albany, twenty-five lost their limbs by the intensity of the frost. The French, having destroyed the village, retired laden with plunder.

This atrocious proceeding roused the indignation of all the colonies. Extensive preparations were immediately commenced in New York and New England, for a general invasion of Canada. An expedition against Quebec, under Sir William Phipps, sailed from Boston; and the united forces of Connecticut and New York, under the command of General Winthrop, were to march against Montreal. But Leisler's son-in-law, Milbourne, who acted as commissary-general,

having failed to furnish supplies, and the Indians not bringing the requisite number of canoes, for crossing the rivers and lakes, the general was obliged to order a retreat. The expedition against Quebec was equally unsuccessful.

Leisler, transported with rage when he was informed of the retreat, caused Winthrop to be arrested, but was instantly compelled, by the indignation of both parties, to release him. This man was intoxicated with his elevation, and began to betray his utter incapacity for the supreme government of a colony. The government of Connecticut, incensed at the affront to one of their ablest officers, warned him that his state needed prudence; and that he had urgent occasion for friends.

King William received the messenger, who had been sent to him by Leisler, very graciously, and admitted him to the honour of kissing his hand, as a testimony of his approbation of the proceedings at New York. But Nicholson, arriving in England, found means to prejudice the royal mind against the insurgents both of Boston and New York. The king returned thanks to the people of New York for their fidelity; but, without recognising the governor of their choice, he committed the administration of the province to Colonel Sloughter, in 1689, who did not arrive in the province, however, till 1691.

The new governor, on his arrival, summoned Leisler to deliver up the fort. Unwilling to relinquish the power which he had so long held, he replied that he would not give it up, but to an order under the king's own hand. Finding, however, that parties were strong against him, he abandoned his desperate design of defending the fort; and, on surrendering it, he was instantly denounced as a rebel, and cast into prison, with Milbourne and others of his adherents, on a charge of high treason.

Sloughter then called an assembly, who voted an address, censuring the conduct of Leisler, and passed an act annulling the regulations which had been in force during his administration. They also passed a law declaring the assembling of a representative body to be an inherent right of the people, and that all the other liberties of Englishmen belonged of right to the colonists. This act was afterwards annulled by king William.

Leisler and Milbourne were now brought to trial; and, after vainly pleading their loyalty and public services, were convicted of treason, and sentenced to death. The governor

still hesitated to destroy the two persons, who, of all the inhabitants, had been the first to declare themselves in favour of his sovereign. Their enemies resorted to a most unjustifiable stratagem. They prepared a sumptuous feast, to which Colonel Slougher was invited; and when his reason was drowned in wine, the entreaties of the company prevailed with him to sign the death warrant; and, before he recovered from his intoxication, the prisoners were executed.

The best act of Slougher's administration was the execution of a new treaty, offensive and defensive, with the Five Nations. On his return from the conference with their deputies he suddenly died. He was a man of profligate character and mean abilities.

At the close of the year 1691, Major Schuyler, who had acquired, by his courage and courtesy, an extraordinary degree of influence over the Indians of the Five Nations, undertook an expedition against Montreal, at the head of a considerable body of colonial and Indian forces. Though the invaders were compelled to retreat, the French suffered heavy losses, in several encounters, and the spirit and animosity of the Five Nations was excited to such a pitch, that when their allies retired, they continued to wage incessant and harassing hostilities with the French through the whole winter. Count Frontignac succeeded in capturing two of their warriors, of the Mohawk nation, whom he condemned to die by torture. One of them despatched himself with a knife, which some Frenchman threw into the prison; but the other, disdaining such pusillanimity, walked boldly to the stake singing, in his death chaunt, that he was a Mohawk warrior, and that all the power of man could not extort an indecent expression of suffering from his lips; and that it was ample consolation to him to reflect that he had made many a Frenchman suffer the same pangs that he must now himself undergo. When attached to the stake he looked round on his executioners, their instruments of torture, and the assembled multitude of spectators, with the composure of heroic fortitude, and after enduring for some hours a series of barbarities too atrocious to be recited, his sufferings were terminated by the intercession of a French lady, who prevailed with the governor to order that mortal blow, to which human cruelty has given the name of *coup de grace*, or stroke of favour.

Colonel Fletcher was the next governor of New York. He arrived in 1692. He was an able soldier, but avaricious and passionate. The king, who had refused to grant a charter to New York, was anxious to encroach on the privileges of Connecticut, by placing the militia of that colony under the control of Fletcher. To effect this object, Fletcher sent a commission to Governor Trent, of Connecticut, who was already commander of the colonial force by virtue of his office. The acceptance of a commission, from the governor of New York, would have made him subject to his orders. It was of course refused. Incensed at such contumacy, Fletcher proceeded, with his usual impetuosity, to Hartford, and commanded the assembly of the colony, who were then in session, to place their militia under his orders, as they would answer it to their king. He even threatened to issue a proclamation, calling on all who were for the king to join him, and denouncing all others as traitors. Finding his menaces disregarded, he presented himself with one of his council, Colonel Bayard, to the militia at their parade, and commanded Bayard to read his commission from the king aloud. But Captain Wadsworth, a tried patriot, stepped forward, and commanded the drums to beat, so that the reader could not be heard. When Fletcher attempted to interpose, Wadsworth supported his orders with such determination, that his antagonist was compelled to give up the point, and make a hasty retreat to his own jurisdiction. The king ordered the matter to be submitted to the attorney and solicitor general of England, who decided in favour of Connecticut.

It was fortunate for New York that Fletcher made use of the prudent counsels of Colonel Schuyler, in his intercourse with the Indians. His promptitude, skill, and intelligence, were of essential service in preserving the attachment of the Five Nations, during an expedition against the French, in which they were assisted by the New York militia, in 1693.

Fletcher laboured hard with the assembly to render Episcopacy the established religion of the colony. The Dutch, and other Presbyterians, naturally opposed him in this design. He at length succeeded in carrying a bill through the assembly of representatives for settling ministers in the several parishes. But when the council added the clause, which gave the people the privilege of electing their own ministers, and a proviso, that the governor should exercise

the episcopal power of approving and collating the incumbents, this amendment was directly negatived by the assembly. The governor, exasperated at their obstinacy, called the house before him, and prorogued their sitting with a passionate harangue. 'You take upon you,' said he, 'as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of but three or four words in that bill, which, though very immaterial, yet was positively denied. I must tell you, it seems very unmannerly. It is the sign of a stubborn, ill-temper. You ought to consider that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the government; and ought not to take all upon you, nor be so peremptory. You ought to let the council have a share. They are in the nature of the House of Lords, or upper house; but you seem to take the whole power in your hands, and set up for everything. You have sat a long time to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance, and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the government. Why did not you think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance?' The members of assembly endured his rudeness with invincible patience; but they also obstructed his pretensions with immoveable resolution.

Having no better success in his subsequent attempts to overawe the assembly, he at length gave up the point, and maintained a good correspondence with that body during the remainder of his administration.

The peace of Ryswick, which took place in 1697, gave repose to the colonies, but left the Five Nations exposed to the hostilities of the French. Count Frontignac prepared to direct his whole force against them; and was only prevented from executing his purpose by the energy and decision of the earl of Bellamont, who had now succeeded Fletcher in the government of the colony. He not only supplied the Five Nations with ammunition and military stores, but notified to Count Frontignac, that, if the French should presume to attack them, he would march the whole disposable force of the province to their aid. This threat was effectual, and a peace between the French and the Five Nations was soon afterwards concluded.

Piracy had increased to an alarming extent on the American shores, during the administration of Fletcher; and he

was even suspected of having encouraged it. Lord Bellamont was instructed to put an end to this evil; and, consulting with his friends on the best means of accomplishing this desirable end, he was advised to employ one Kidd, who was represented to him as a man of honour and integrity, and well acquainted with the persons and haunts of the pirates. Kidd was accordingly engaged to undertake the office, as the agent of a company, of which the king, the lord chancellor, and some other noblemen, were members. He received an ordinary commission, as a privateer, with directions to proceed against the pirates, and hold himself responsible to Lord Bellamont. But instead of attacking the pirates, he turned pirate himself, and became the most infamous and formidable of them all. After continuing his depredations for three years, he had the audacity to appear publicly in Boston. He was seized, and sent to England, where he was tried and executed. The noblemen who had procured his commission were charged with participating in his crimes and profits; but no exertions of their enemies could fix the imputation upon them, so as to gain credit with the public at large.

The death of Leisler had not entirely extinguished the civil feuds to which his elevation gave rise. They had continued through the administration of Fletcher, and now broke forth with fresh violence, upon occasion of young Leisler's application for indemnification for the losses sustained by the family. Lord Bellamont favoured his claims, and was instrumental in procuring a grant of 1000*l.* for his benefit. The faction, however, were not quieted by this measure.

Lord Bellamont's administration was terminated by his death, in 1701; and he was succeeded by Lord Cornbury, grandson of the great chancellor, Lord Clarendon; but a most degenerate and unworthy descendant of that illustrious man. Parties ran high under his administration, and he was a violent supporter of the anti-Leislerian faction. He was also an over-strenuous supporter of the Church of England; and did not scruple to persecute, with unrelenting hate, the members of all other denominations. He embezzled the public money, ran in debt on his own private account, and evaded payment by the privileges of his offices. All parties became disgusted with his unprincipled conduct; and, forgetting their former animosities against each other,

united in earnestly petitioning for his recall. In 1709, Queen Anne, the new sovereign of England, was induced to supersede his commission, and appoint Lord Lovelace to succeed him. Deprived of his office, he was instantly arrested, and thrown into prison, by his enraged creditors, and remained there until the death of his father, by elevating him to the peerage, entitled him to his liberation. He then returned to England, and died in the year 1723. The brief administration of Lord Lovelace, distinguished by no remarkable occurrence, was terminated by his sudden decease.

General Hunter, who was appointed to succeed Lord Lovelace, arrived in 1710, and brought with him three thousand Germans, a part of whom settled in New York, and the remainder in Pennsylvania. His administration is remarkable only for his frequent and unsatisfactory disputes with the assembly, concerning the custody and disbursement of the public money. An unsuccessful invasion of Canada, by the united forces of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, took place in 1711.

William Burnet, son of the celebrated bishop Burnet, succeeded to Hunter. He was well apprised of the danger to be apprehended from the French upon the north-western frontier, and soon penetrated their design of forming a line of forts from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. He erected a fort at Oswego, on lake Ontario, in hopes of defeating their design. But the French were not thus to be foiled. They erected Fort Frontignac, at the outlet of Lake Ontario, and another at Niagara, at the entrance of the Niagara river into the lake. The remainder of his administration appears to have chiefly been occupied by contentions with the assembly concerning the court of chancery, which had become so odious that an act of the legislature was passed, declaring its proceedings void.

Burnet being appointed governor of Massachusetts, was succeeded by Colonel Montgomery. His short administration was not distinguished by any remarkable event. He died in 1731, and Rip Van Dam, the senior member of the council, became acting governor. He was superseded in 1732, by William Cosby, having, in the meantime, permitted the French to erect a fortification at Crown Point, within the boundaries of the colonies, which served as a rallying point for hostile Indians.

Cosby was at first a popular governor, but having impru-

dently attacked the liberty of the press, he lost favour with the people. His successor, Clark, was not more fortunate, as he excited the hostility of the assembly by his arbitrary attempts to control the public treasure. He carried matters so far as to charge the colonies with a design to throw off their dependence on the crown.

George Clinton succeeded Clark, in 1743. He seems to have retained the popularity with which most of the governors commenced their administrations, by timely concessions to the people. He gave his assent to a law which limited the duration of the assemblies; and succeeded in raising recruits and subsidies for a vigorous prosecution of the war, which had commenced with France. Before his preparations were completed, however, a treaty was concluded.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, the population of the whole colony of New York was scarcely 100,000 inhabitants—less than one-half the number now contained in the metropolis of that state. The Indian wars, which were almost constantly raging on the frontier, were an effectual check to the extended settlement of the interior.

CHAPTER XV.

COLONISATION OF NEW JERSEY.

WE have already referred to the early settlements of the Swedes and Dutch on the Delaware river. It was not until 1640, that any attempt was made by the English, to colonise this region; and then it was successfully resisted. Their settlement at Elsingburg was broken up by the united efforts of the Swedes and Dutch. The Swedes took possession of the place, built a fort, commanded the navigation of the river, and exacted duties from the ships of other nations passing on its waters. This lasted till their subjugation by the Dutch, under Peter Stuyvesant, which has already been related.

When New York was given to the Duke of York, by Charles II., the country between the Delaware and Hudson was included in the grant. It was immediately afterwards conveyed, by the duke, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. In compliment to Carteret, who had defended the

island of Jersey against the Long Parliament in the civil war, it was called Nova-Cesaria, or New Jersey. To invite settlers to the country, the proprietaries gave assurance that the province should enjoy a representative government; freedom from all taxes, except such as were imposed by the general assembly; and the undisturbed enjoyment of liberty of conscience. This last provision was undoubtedly intended for the benefit of the society of Friends, who had been much molested by the Dutch in the neighbouring colony; and many of whom were already settled in New Jersey. Lands were also offered, at a quit rent of a half-penny an acre, after the year 1670, with the further condition, that one able-bodied male servant should be maintained for every 100 acres of land, thus affording a guarantee for the actual cultivation of the land. This condition was probably intended to prevent the appropriation of large tracts by speculators. New provisions were added to this constitution, by subsequent proclamations of the proprietors, and the whole code was denominated, by the people, *the Laws of the Concessions*, and regarded by them as the great charter of their liberties.

Philip Carteret, the first governor of New Jersey, purchased from the Indians their titles to all the lands which were occupied. This proceeding was afterwards approved by the proprietaries, who then established the rule, that all lands should be purchased from the Indians by the governor and council, who were to be reimbursed by the settlers, in proportion to their respective possessions.

Colonel Nichols, the first English governor of New York, while yet unacquainted with the duke's grant to Berkeley and Carteret, had granted licences to persons to purchase lands of the Indians, and make settlements in New Jersey; and the towns of Elizabethtown, Woodbridge, and Piscataway, were accordingly settled. But the hopes which he had entertained, of increasing the value of the duke's territories by this measure, were soon dissipated by intelligence of his having parted with his claim to all the lands south-west of the Hudson. The measures which Nichols had already taken, gave rise to disputes between the settlers and the proprietaries, which disturbed the colony for more than half a century.

Nichols endeavoured to prevail on the duke to revoke the grant: but this was not done, and the government was surrendered to Philip Carteret, who arrived in 1665, with thirty settlers, and fixed his residence at Elizabethtown, the first

capital of the colony. Here he remained for several years, while the little state grew and flourished under his prudent administration. Its free institutions, fertile soil, and fortunate situation for commerce, all contributed to invite settlers, and advance its prosperity.

In 1670, the first quit-rents fell due. The first demand of this tribute excited general disgust. A numerous party, including those who had settled under Nichols, refused to acknowledge the title of the proprietors, and in opposition to it set up titles, which they had obtained from the Indians. The governor struggled hard to maintain the rights of the proprietors for two years, till at length an insurrection broke forth, and he was compelled to return to England, abandoning the government, which was immediately conferred on a son of Sir George Carteret, who had favoured the popular party.

In 1673, the Dutch recovered New Jersey, together with New York, but soon afterwards it was restored to the English by the treaty of London. After this event the Duke of York obtained a new charter for New York and New Jersey; appointed Andros governor over the whole reunited province, and investing all the legislative power in the governor and council, established the same arbitrary government in New Jersey which he had all along maintained in New York. He promised Sir George Carteret, however, to renew his grant of New Jersey. But when he finally performed his promise, he still ordered Andros to maintain his prerogative over the whole territory.

In 1675, Philip Carteret returned to New Jersey, and was willingly received by the inhabitants, who had become heartily weary of the tyranny of Andros. As he postponed the payment of quit-rents to a future day, and published a new set of *concessions* from Sir George Carteret, peace and order were once more restored to the colony. The only subject of uneasiness arose from the arbitrary proceedings of Andros, who interdicted and finally destroyed their commerce, exacted tribute, and even arrested governor Carteret, and conveyed him a prisoner to New York. He was only released by the interposition of the Duke of York.

In 1674, Lord Berkeley, one of those who had received the grant from the Duke of York, sold his share of New Jersey to two English Quakers, named Fenwicke and Byllinge, conveying it to the first of them in trust for the other. A dispute arising between them, the matter was referred to the cele-

brated William Penn, who decided in favour of Byllinge. Fenwicke came over with his family in 1675, and settled in the western part of New Jersey.

Byllinge subsequently became embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, and made an assignment of his claims on New Jersey to William Penn, Gawen Lawrie, and Nicholas Lewis, who assumed the direction of the territory thus conveyed. Their first care was to effect a division of the province between themselves and Sir George Carteret; and, accordingly, the eastern part of the province was assigned to Carteret, under the name of East New Jersey; the western part to Byllinge's assigns, who named their portion West New Jersey. The western proprietors then divided their territory into one hundred lots, ten of which they assigned to Fenwicke, and the remaining ninety they reserved to be sold for the benefit of Byllinge's creditors. They then gave the settlers a free constitution, under the title of *Concessions*, granting all the important privileges of civil and religious liberty.

In 1677, upwards of four hundred Quakers, many of them possessed of considerable property, arrived from England, and settled in West New Jersey, giving their first settlement the name of Burlington.

The claims of the Duke of York to jurisdiction over New Jersey continued to be urged, to the great annoyance of the inhabitants, until 1680, when after repeated remonstrances to the English government, and a legal decision in their favour, the people finally succeeded in procuring a formal recognition of their independence.

West Jersey now rapidly filled with inhabitants, most of them being of the Quaker persuasion. Their first representative assembly took place in 1681. It was convoked by Samuel Jennings, the deputy of Edward Byllinge, their first governor. In this assembly was enacted a body of *Fundamental Constitutions*, which formed the future basis of their government.

In 1682, William Penn, and eleven other persons of the society of Friends, purchased from Sir George Carteret the whole province of East New Jersey. Twelve other persons, of a different religious persuasion from their own, were then united with the purchasers, and to these twenty-four proprietaries, the Duke of York executed his third and last grant of East New Jersey; on receiving which they proceeded to organise a proprietary government. Their first governor was

the celebrated Robert Barclay, author of the 'Apology for the Quakers;' who was appointed for life. Under his brief administration a large number of emigrants arrived from Scotland. Barclay died in 1690.

On his accession to the throne, James II., utterly disregarding the engagements he had entered into as Duke of York, attempted to deprive New Jersey of its chartered privileges, and was only prevented from the execution of his purpose by the Revolution, which deprived him of the throne in 1688.

From that period, till 1692, Chalmers asserts, that no government whatever existed in New Jersey; and it is highly creditable to the society of Friends, whose members composed the main part of the population, that the peace of the country and the prosperity of its inhabitants were promoted during this interval, by their own honesty, sobriety, and industry.

The pretensions of New York to jurisdiction over New Jersey were revived under William and Mary, which circumstance led to much angry discussion, until at the commencement of the reign of Queen Anne, the proprietaries, wearied with continual embarrassments and disputes, surrendered their powers of government to the crown. The queen forthwith united East and West New Jersey into one province, and committed the government of it, as well as of New York, to her kinsman, Lord Cornbury. His administration here, as well as in the neighbouring colony, was only distinguished by his arrogant attempts to overawe and dictate to the colonial assemblies, and their firm and resolute resistance of his assumptions of arbitrary power.

After his recall, New York and New Jersey continued for many years to be ruled by the same governor, each choosing a separate assembly; and it was not until 1738, that a separate governor for New Jersey was appointed at the instance of the people. Lewis Morris was the first governor under this new arrangement. The college of Nassau Hall, at Princeton, was founded the same year.

After this period, no remarkable circumstance transpired in this province, until the middle of the eighteenth century, the period to which we are now bringing up the history of the several colonies, with a view to proceed afterwards with an account of their united operations in the French war of 1754.

CHAPTER XVI.

COLONISATION OF DELAWARE.

DELAWARE was first settled in 1627. William Usselin, an eminent Swedish merchant, being satisfied of the advantages of colonising the country in the neighbourhood of New Netherlands, gained the permission of Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, to form a company for the purpose. Large sums of money were accordingly contributed, and a colony of Swedes and Finns sent out, who first landed at Cape Henlopen, the delightful appearance of which induced them to give it the name of Paradise Point. They, soon after, bought of the natives the land from that Cape to the falls of the Delaware; and scattered their settlements along the shores of the river.

Their first settlement was near Wilmington at the mouth of Christina creek, and they afterwards built forts at Lewistown and Tinicum isle: which last was the seat of government of their colony of New Swedeland, or New Sweden, as they were pleased to call it. Here, John Printz, their governor, built himself a spacious mansion, which he called Printz Hall, and supported the dignity of a colonial viceroy.

The empire was destined however to a speedy termination. The Dutchmen of New Netherlands could not bear the presence of so formidable a rival. They built a fort in 1651 at New Castle, in the very centre, as it were, of New Sweden, and notwithstanding the protestations of Printz, held it till the accession of Risingh, his successor. This governor employed a most unworthy stratagem for displacing the intruders. Being on an apparently friendly visit to the commander of the fort, and observing the weakness of the garrison, he incontinently took possession of it, disarmed the soldiers, and made them swear allegiance to his sovereign. An account of this important affair, coloured to the life, may be found in Knickerbocker's celebrated History of New York.

Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New York, in revenge for this insult, fitted out a grand armament, invaded New Sweden, and reduced the whole colony to complete subjection; sending many of the inhabitants to the mother coun-

try, while the remainder quietly mingled with the conquerors, and adopted their government, laws, and manners.

When the English conquered New Netherlands, afterwards called New York, they also obtained Delaware, which was considered a part of that territory. In 1682, New Castle, and the country for a compass of twelve miles round it, were purchased of the Duke of York, by William Penn, who afterwards extended his purchase to Cape Henlopen. This country, called the *Lower Counties of the Delaware*, remained a portion of William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania for twenty years afterwards.

In 1703, the Lower Counties were separated from Pennsylvania; and have since retained their independence of any other colony, under the name of Delaware.

The limited extent of its territory gives this state rather a diminutive appearance on the map; but its soldiers have ever been among the bravest in defence of our liberties, and its statesmen have at all periods exerted a commanding influence in the councils of the nation.

CHAPTER XVII.

COLONISATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

THIS colony was founded by the celebrated William Penn, in 1681. He was the son of Sir William Penn, a British admiral, who under the protectorate of Cromwell effected the conquest of Jamaica, for the British Crown. He also performed important services for the Stuart family, and after the restoration, enjoyed high favour at the court. Young Penn was early entered as a commoner at Oxford university, but having imbibed a strong predilection for Quaker sentiments, he espoused the cause of that sect with so much warmth that he, with several others, was expelled from the university.

His father, wishing to divert his mind from religious subjects, sent him to travel in France, and this scheme seems to have been attended with partial success; but after his return, having gone to Ireland, to inspect an estate that belonged to his father, he there met with the same preacher who had first attracted his attention to the principles of Quakerism ten years before, and the consequence was a new and determined

adoption of his former belief. His father, disappointed in his hopes of worldly advancement for his son, abandoned him to his own course.

He then commenced preacher, and gained many proselytes. Though often imprisoned, and constantly persecuted, he still persevered; and such was his sincerity, zeal and patience, that his father finally became reconciled to him. In 1670, he was tried at the Old Bailey, for preaching in the street, and pleaded his own cause with such firmness and resolution that he gained his acquittal.

On the death of his father he became heir to a handsome estate, but he continued to preach, write, and suffer persecution as before.

The attention of Penn was attracted to colonisation, by the interest which he took in the affairs of New Jersey. Learning that a large tract of land, lying between the possessions of the Duke of York and those of Lord Baltimore, was still unoccupied, he formed the noble design of founding there a new state, in which the liberal ideas he had formed of civil and religious liberty should be fully realised. He accordingly presented a petition to Charles II., urging his claim for a debt incurred by the crown to his father, and soliciting a grant of the land on which he desired to settle. A charter was readily granted by the king.

This charter constituted William Penn, and his heirs, true and absolute proprietaries of the province of Pennsylvania, saving to the crown their allegiance, and the sovereignty. It gave him and his heirs, and their deputies, power to make laws, with the advice of the freemen, and to erect courts of justice, for the execution of those laws, provided they should not be repugnant to the laws of England.

Penn now invited purchasers; and a large number, chiefly of his own persuasion, prepared to emigrate. Some merchants, forming a company, purchased 20,000 acres of land at the rate of twenty pounds for every thousand acres. In May, 1681, he despatched Markham, his relative, with a company of emigrants, to take possession of the territory. He at the same time despatched a letter to the Indians, assuring them of his just and friendly intentions with respect to themselves.

In the following April, Penn published 'the frame of government for Pennsylvania,' and in May, a body of laws which had been agreed upon by himself, and the adventurers in England, which was intended as a great charter, and which,

says Chalmers, 'does great honour to their wisdom as statesmen, to their morals as men, to their spirit as colonists.'

To prevent future claims to the province by the Duke of York, or his heirs, Penn obtained from him, his deed of release for it; and as an additional grant, he procured from him also, his right and interest in that tract of land, which was at first called the 'Territories of Pennsylvania,' and afterwards, the 'Three Lower Counties on Delaware.' This constitutes, as we have already remarked, the present state of Delaware.

Penn, having completed these arrangements, embarked in August, for America, accompanied by a large number of emigrants, chiefly of his own religious persuasion. He landed at Newcastle, on the 24th of October 1682. The next day the people were summoned to the court house, possession of the country was legally given to the proprietary; and the people were acquainted by him, with the design of his coming, and the nature of the government which he came to establish.

He then proceeded to Upland, now called Chester, and there called an assembly on the 24th of December. This assembly passed an act of union, annexing the Three Lower Counties to the province, and an act of settlement in reference to the frame of government. The foreigners, residing in the province, were naturalised, and the laws, agreed on in England, were passed in form. Penn then selected the site of an extensive city, to which he gave the name of Philadelphia, and laid out the plan on which it should be built. Before the end of the year, it contained eighty dwellings.

Penn's next step was, to enter into a treaty with the Indian tribes in his neighbourhood. Regarding them as the rightful possessors of the soil, he fairly purchased from them their lands, giving in exchange valuable European goods and commodities, such as were useful to them. This treaty executed without the formality of an oath, was inviolably preserved for a period of seventy years.

Within a year, between twenty and thirty vessels, with passengers, arrived in the province. The banks of the Delaware were rapidly settled, from the falls of Trenton, to Chester. The emigrants were chiefly Quakers from England, Wales and Ireland. A party from Germany settled in and near Germantown, in 1682. On landing, they set about procuring shelter. Some lodged in the woods under trees, some in caves which were easily dug on the high banks of the Wis-

sahiccon and the Delaware, and others in hastily built huts. They were abundantly supplied with wood, water, and fertile land; and they brought with them the implements for building and husbandry. They soon formed plantations of Indian corn and wheat. The forests furnished deer, wild turkeys and pigeons; and the rivers abounded with fish. The settlers endured some hardships, it is true, but they were in a rich country, and their knowledge of its resources, and the thought of the free institutions which they might transmit to their posterity, enabled them to conquer all difficulties.

A second assembly was held at Philadelphia, in March, 1683. During this session, Penn created a second frame of government, differing in some points from the former, to which the assembly readily granted assent. They also enacted a variety of salutary regulations, by which the growing prosperity of the province was promoted, and its peace and order preserved. Within four years from the date of the grant to Penn, the province contained twenty settlements, and Philadelphia 2,000 inhabitants.

Having received information from his agent that his presence was required in England, Penn departed from America in August, 1684, leaving the province under the government of five commissioners, chosen from the provincial council. Soon after his return, James II. ascended the throne. Penn's attachment to the Stuart family induced him to adhere to this unfortunate monarch till long after his fall; and for two years after the revolution which placed William and Mary on the throne, the province was administered in the name of James. This could not fail to draw down the indignation of king William on the devoted head of the proprietary, who suffered much persecution for his unflinching loyalty. He was four times imprisoned. The king took the government of Pennsylvania into his own hands; and appointed Colonel Fletcher to administer the government of this province, as well as that of New York. It, at length, became apparent to the king, that Penn's attachment to the Stuarts was merely personal, and not attended with any treasonable designs; and he was restored to favour. Being permitted to resume and exercise his rights, he appointed William Markham to be his deputy governor.

In 1696, the assembly complained to Governor Markham of a breach of their chartered privileges; and, in consequence of their remonstrance, a bill of settlement, prepared and

passed by the assembly, was approved by the governor, forming the third frame of government of Pennsylvania.

In 1699, Penn again visited the colony, accompanied by his family, with the design of spending the remainder of his life among his people. He was disappointed, however, by finding the colonists dissatisfied with the existing state of things. Negro slavery, and the intercourse with the Indian tribes, those prolific sources of disquiet in all periods of our history, were the subjects of much unpleasant altercation between the proprietary and the colonists. Certain laws, which he prepared for regulating these affairs, were rejected by the assembly. His exertions, in recommending a liberal system to his own sect, were attended with better success, and the final abolition of slavery, in Pennsylvania, was ultimately owing to their powerful influence.

Penn soon determined to return to England, and he naturally desired to have some frame of government firmly established before his departure. In 1701, he prepared one which was readily accepted by the assembly. It gave them the right of originating laws, which had previously been vested in the governor: it allowed to the governor a negative on bills passed by the assembly, together with the right of appointing his own council, and of exercising the whole executive power. This new charter the Three Lower Counties refused to accept; and they were consequently separated from Pennsylvania; electing an assembly of their own, but acknowledging the same governor.

Immediately after the acceptance of his fourth charter, Penn returned to England. Here he was harassed by complaints against the administration of his deputy governor, Evans, whom he finally displaced, appointing Charles Gookin in his place. Finding the discontents were still not allayed, Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year, addressed the assembly for the last time, in a letter, which marks the mild dignity and wisdom of his character and the affectionate concern which he felt for the future welfare of the province. This letter is said to have produced a powerful effect; but before this could be known to the illustrious founder, he had been seized with the disease which terminated his active and useful life. By the universal consent of historians and statesmen, Penn has been placed in the very highest rank among the benefactors and moral reformers of mankind. The influence of his character has never ceased to be felt

in the institutions of the state which he founded ; and his memory will be cherished by a grateful people to the remotest ages.

The legislatures and governors of Pennsylvania, acting on the principles of their founder, acquired by equitable purchases from the Indians a most extensive and unembarrassed territory, which was rapidly filled with settlers. The only subject of disquiet in the colony, for many years, was a dispute between the governors and assembly, on the question of exempting lands of the proprietary from general taxation, a claim which the people resisted as unjust. After many disputes on this subject, the assembly deputed the celebrated Benjamin Franklin, as an agent to London, to petition the king for redress. The subject was brought before the privy council, and finally adjusted by a compromise ; Franklin, as agent, entering into engagements that the taxes should be assessed in a fair and equitable manner ; and the governor assenting to the bill for levying them.

After the commencement of the revolutionary war, a new constitution was adopted by the people, which excluded the proprietor from all share in the government. His claim to quit-rents was afterwards purchased for 570,000 dollars.

Pennsylvania, which, excepting Georgia, was the last of the colonies settled, had a more rapid increase than any of her competitors in wealth and population. In 1775, she possessed a population of 372,208 inhabitants, collected and raised in less than a century.

CHAPTER XVIII.

COLONISATION OF NORTH CAROLINA.

THE unsuccessful attempts of the French, under admiral Coligny, to form permanent settlements on the coast of Carolina, have already been noticed. Those which were made under Elizabeth, by Raleigh and Gilbert, have been comprised in the history of Virginia, of which colony Carolina was then considered a part. But for the removal of the settlers into Virginia, Carolina would have been the first permanent English colony in America.

It was not till the year 1630, that Sir Robert Heath, attorney general of Charles I., obtained a patent for the region south of Virginia, bounded north by the 36th degree of north latitude, and extending to Louisiana. This immense territory was named Carolina. Heath's patent led to no settlements, however, and was consequently declared void.

Between the years 1640 and 1650, a considerable number of persons, suffering from religious intolerance in Virginia, fled beyond her limits; and, without a grant from any quarter, settled that portion of North Carolina which lies north of Albemarle Sound. They found a mild climate and a fertile soil; and, as their cattle and swine procured their own subsistence in the woods and multiplied rapidly, they were able to live in comparative ease and abundance. They acknowledged no sovereign, and obeyed no laws, but such as resulted from their own sense of right and wrong. Several families from Massachusetts settled soon after near Cape Fear, but their lands and fisheries proving unproductive, they were under the necessity of obtaining relief from their parent colony.

The final settlement of Carolina originated with Lord Clarendon, and other courtiers of Charles II. On their application for a charter, he granted them, in 1663, all the lands lying between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The charter granted the usual power to make laws, with the approbation of the freemen of the colony; and reserved to the crown the right of sovereignty. Religious freedom was also specially provided for.

The proprietors, by virtue of this charter, claimed all the lands of Carolina, and jurisdiction over all who had settled on them. The settlers in Albemarle, being placed under the superintendence of Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, he visited the colony, confirmed the land titles, appointed civil officers, authorised the calling of a general assembly, and, when these arrangements were completed, intrusted the government to Mr. Drummond.

The inhabitants of Albemarle were not satisfied with the new order of things. They petitioned to hold their lands on the same tenure as lands were held in Virginia; and, not receiving a favourable answer, they broke out in insurrection, and remained in open revolt for nearly two years;

but they returned to their allegiance on receiving assurance that their petition was granted, and that Samuel Stephens, who, in 1667, had been appointed governor, would give them lands in Albemarle, on the same terms as the lands were usually granted in Virginia. A constitution was at the same time fixed, providing for the annual election of a legislature, the appointment of the governor and half the council by the proprietors, and the right of the assembly to regulate taxation. In 1669, governor Stephens convoked the first assembly under this constitution.

It was in the same year that the Earl of Shaftesbury, being commissioned to prepare *the fundamental constitutions of Carolina*, employed, for that purpose, the celebrated John Locke. His system, however, was found to be totally inapplicable to the purposes for which it was designed. It was ultimately abrogated by consent of the legislature.

Meantime some settlers near Cape Fear were formed into a separate county, with the name of Clarendon, under the direction of Sir John Yeamans, as commander in chief. North Carolina was, in fact, divided into two distinct colonies, Albemarle and Clarendon, with a governor to each; but this arrangement was not of long duration.

In 1670, William Sayle, being sent out by the proprietors of North Carolina, settled at Port Royal; and, in the following year, being dissatisfied, he formed another settlement on the banks of the Cooper and Ashley rivers, which, in honour of the king, was called Charlestown. This ultimately led to the establishment of a separate colony, which was called South Carolina. Sir John Yeamans was, soon after, made governor of this new colony. Clarendon and Albemarle were united, and formed the original foundation of the present state of North Carolina.

The settlers of this northern colony were scattered along the coast, the sounds, and rivers. Their progress was slow, and in 1702, the population was no more than 6000. Their prosperity was hindered by some disadvantages of local situation; but still more by civil dissensions.

In 1677, the dissatisfaction of the colonists with the measures of the deputy governor led to an open insurrection, headed by one Culpepper, who imprisoned the proprietary officers; seized the royal revenue; and, in fact, exercised all the powers of an independent government. After two years of successful revolt, the insurgents, apprehending an

invasion from Virginia, sent Culpepper and Holden to England to offer submission, on condition of having their past proceedings ratified. But Culpepper was seized, and tried for high treason. The influence of Lord Shaftesbury saved him from conviction; and the proprietaries sent out Seth Sothel, to restore order in the colony. His administration was utterly corrupt and tyrannical; and the inhabitants, after six years' endurance of his oppression, seized him, in order to send him to England for trial; but, at his request, he was detained and tried by the assembly, who banished him from the colony. He was succeeded by Philip Ludwell. After this event, we find few transactions, of much interest, in the colony, excepting the arrival of some German settlers at Roanoke, in 1710, until the year 1712, when the Tuscarora and Coree Indians, alarmed at the increase of the white population, formed a conspiracy for destroying the colony by a general massacre. Twelve hundred warriors united in this plot, and agreed to commence their attack on the same night. When the time came, they severally entered the houses of the planters; asked for provisions; and, affecting to be displeased with them, murdered men, women, and children, without distinction or mercy. Their measures were taken with such secrecy and despatch, that no alarm was spread until each house was the scene of a murderous tragedy. At Roanoke, one hundred and thirty-seven of the settlers were massacred. A few escaped to the other settlements; and they were placed in a posture of defence until assistance should arrive from South Carolina.

Colonel Barnwell, of South Carolina, was sent, with 600 militia, and 366 Indians, to their relief. After marching through a wilderness of 200 miles, he arrived at the encampment of the Indians, attacked and defeated them, killing 300 of their number, and taking 100 prisoners. The survivors sued for peace. Hostilities were soon after again renewed, and the Indians suffered another terrible defeat from a party under Colonel James Moore. Disheartened by these repeated disasters, the Tuscaroras abandoned their ancient haunts, and migrating to the north, united themselves with the Five Nations, constituting the sixth of that famous confederacy.

After South Carolina was settled, that colony and North Carolina had remained distinct, so far as to have separate governors and assemblies; but they have remained under

the same proprietors. In 1729, seven of the proprietors sold their rights, and they were completely separated. This measure promoted the peace, security, and happiness of both colonies. The last of the proprietary governors of North Carolina was Sir Richard Everhard. The first royal governor was George Barrington.

The population of North Carolina increased but slowly for the first hundred years. About the middle of the eighteenth century, it was ascertained that the lands of the interior were far more fertile than those on the coast. From this time emigrants, chiefly from Pennsylvania, poured into that region in great numbers, and the lands were speedily brought into a state of high cultivation. In 1775, the population of the colony was estimated at a quarter of a million.

CHAPTER XIX.

COLONISATION OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

THE reader is already apprised of the intimate connection between the history of this province and that of North Carolina. They were, for a long period, under the same proprietors; but, in all other respects, they remained from their first settlement distinct.

The first effective settlement, by Governor Sayle, was made at Port Royal, in 1670. He was accompanied by Joseph West, who, for upwards of twenty years, bore the chief sway in Carolina, and was now intrusted with the management of the commercial affairs of the proprietaries, on whom the colonists long depended for their foreign supplies. The settlers brought with them the famous constitution prepared by John Locke; but on arriving at their destination, they found it to be more applicable to an old and populous, than a new and unsettled country. The order of nobles, which it permitted, would have compromised their dignity by hard labour on the soil, to which every man in the colony seemed destined. The colonists resolved, however, as they could not 'execute the grand model,' 'that they would come as nigh to it as possible.' They accordingly elected a council and delegates; and invested them with legislative and executive powers.

They suffered from a scarcity of provisions at first ; but a supply was soon sent by the proprietaries ; and with it a plan for a magnificent town, and a regulation by which every settler was allowed 150 acres of land. Several persons were created landgraves, under the provision of Locke's constitution ; and, among the rest, the lawgiver himself. But this race of Carolinian nobles was very short-lived. The attempt to establish a feudal nobility in this country was universally felt to be ridiculous ; and it accordingly proved utterly abortive. Sayle fell a victim to the climate before his settlement was well established. On his death, Sir John Yeamans claimed the office of governor, as due to the rank of landgrave, which no other person residing in the province enjoyed. The council preferred to give the office to Joseph West, until the pleasure of the proprietaries should be known ; who, after due deliberation, judged it expedient to intrust the government to Yeamans.

In 1671, settlers from North Carolina and Port Royal began to resort to the neighbourhood of Cooper and Ashley rivers ; and there they soon after laid the foundations of Old Charleston, which became for some time the capital of the southern country. The settlements had now attracted the attention of the Spaniards at St. Augustine, who became very desirous to break them up. They sent emissaries to Charleston, who attempted to excite the inhabitants to revolt ; encouraged indented servants to run away from their masters to the Spanish territory ; and instigated the Indians to extirpate the colony. In these attempts the Spaniards were too successful ; and the repeated attacks of the Indians, added to the severe labours, and occasional sickness, were rapidly spreading discontent. An insurrection actually took place, but was easily quelled by the governor.

While Yeamans was exerting himself to repress these disorders, the Spaniards, learning the situation of affairs in the colony, despatched a party for the purpose of extirpating it. But they had proceeded no farther than St. Helena, when, hearing that a force was advancing to meet them, they hastily retreated. The Indians were, meantime, diverted from their hostile operations against Charleston by a war among themselves, which nearly proved fatal to two of their principal tribes, the Westoes and Seranas.

In 1673, the colony was strongly reinforced by the arrival of settlers from the Dutch province of New Netherlands,

which having passed into the hands of the English, many of the original colonists chose to seek a new residence. They founded a town on the south-west side of the Ashley river, to which they gave the name of Jamestown. They were subsequently joined by large numbers of their countrymen from Holland; and, eventually deserting Jamestown, were dispersed throughout the province.

Disputes now arose between the proprietaries and the colonists, occasioned by the heavy expenses, and deficient returns of the colony. The proprietaries attributed these, in part, to the mismanagement of Yeamans, who retired to Barbadoes, and soon after died. His place was supplied by Joseph West. (1674.)

In 1680, the proprietaries caused the capital of the province to be removed from Old Charleston to Oyster Point, which is formed by the confluence of Cooper and Ashley rivers. Here the present city of Charleston was founded; and, by the superior advantages of its situation, soon became the chief city of the southern country. A war with the Indians, which broke out the same year, was speedily and successfully terminated by the prudent and vigorous measures of the governor.

West's administration terminated in 1683, when he was succeeded by Morton. The practice of kidnapping Indians, and selling them in the West Indies, which had been introduced by West, was the subject of many disputes between the proprietaries and the colonists during Morton's administration, whose opposition to it finally occasioned his retirement. Kirle was next appointed by the proprietaries; but soon after died; and Quarry, his successor, being dismissed for countenancing piracy, Morton was reinstated in 1685.

In 1686, the Spaniards from St. Augustine invaded South Carolina, and laid waste the settlements of Port Royal. Preparations were made for an attack on St. Augustine, which was only prevented by the interference of the proprietaries. About the same time a large accession of emigrants arrived, consisting of protestant refugees who had been driven from France by the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

Morton was succeeded by James Colleton, in August, 1686. His administration was distinguished by a series of disputes with the legislature, who desired a new constitution, which the proprietaries refused to sanction. When the dis-

content of the colonists had attained its greatest height, Seth Sothel, who had been banished from Albemarle, suddenly presented himself at Charleston, and usurped the government, banished Colleton, and fined and imprisoned many others of the government party. But his tyranny and rapacity were soon found to be so intolerable, that, on the remonstrance of the proprietaries, he was compelled to vacate his functions, and abandon the province. He went to North Carolina, where he died, in 1694.

Colonel Philip Ludwell was now appointed governor. He was anxious to protect the French refugees; and endeavoured to have them naturalised, and admitted to equal rights with the rest of the colonists. This measure was resisted by the bigotry and intolerance of the people; and it was not till many years afterwards, that they obtained the recognition of their natural rights.

Thomas Smith succeeded Ludwell. It was under his administration that the celebrated fundamental constitutions of John Locke were finally abolished, and a system more conformable to the state of the country and the actual wants of the people was substituted.

In 1694, a ship from Madagascar, on her homeward passage to Britain, happening to touch at Charleston, the captain, in acknowledgment of the civilities of Governor Smith, presented him with a bag of seed rice, which he said he had seen growing in the eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and yielded a prodigious increase. The governor divided it among his friends, who agreed to make the experiment; and, planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this incident we are to date the first introduction of one of the chief staples of South Carolina.

John Archdale, a Quaker, was appointed governor in 1695. His jurisdiction extended also to North Carolina; and the wisdom and prudence of his administration were universally acknowledged. It terminated in 1696. John Blake was his successor. He was instrumental in conciliating the different religious sects, whose dissensions had been a source of much disturbance. He died in 1700.

Under the rule of his immediate successors, Moore and Johnson, the colony was harassed by a succession of Indian wars; involved in a heavy debt by an ill-conducted and fruitless expedition against St. Augustine; and agitated by

religious disputes originating in a series of persecuting laws against the dissenters from the church of England.

Henceforward the proprietary government was involved in constant disputes with the colonists, excepting a short interval during the administration of Charles Craven, until 1729, when the company of proprietaries was dissolved, the chief part of the chartered interests being sold to the crown.

The war of the Yemassee occurred in 1715. It was attended with every circumstance of savage treachery and barbarity. Ninety persons were massacred by the Indians, on the first onset at Pocotaligo, and the neighbouring plantations. Port Royal escaped by a timely warning, most of the inhabitants being conveyed to Charleston by a vessel which was fortunately lying in the harbour.

It was soon found that this was but the opening of the drama. All the southern tribes, from Cape Fear to Florida, were in arms, and seven thousand warriors were speedily arrayed against the Carolinas. Governor Craven mustered 1200 men; marched into the enemy's country; defeated them in a pitched battle, and drove them into Florida. Their lands were taken by the colony, and offered to purchasers. A body of 500 Irishmen was speedily settled on them, but being afterwards displaced by the injustice of the proprietors, the land was again left vacant, and the frontier exposed.

For nearly a century after its first settlement, South Carolina, like North Carolina, had nearly all its population confined to the neighbourhood of the sea coast. But subsequently a flood of inhabitants poured into the western woods of the country, from the more northern provinces; and before the revolutionary war commenced, the population amounted to 248,000.

CHAPTER XX.

COLONISATION OF GEORGIA.

GEORGIA was the last of the colonies settled before the declaration of independence. It had been originally included under the first charter for Carolina, but no settlements were made under that charter. The whole tract of

country lying between the Savannah and Altamaha, remained unoccupied by Europeans till the year 1732. In that year a company was formed in England for transporting into this unsettled wilderness such of the suffering poor in the parent country as might be willing to emigrate for the purpose of gaining a livelihood.

A charter was obtained from George II., incorporating the company under the name of 'Trustees for settling and establishing the colony of Georgia.' Large sums of money were subscribed for defraying the expenses of transportation and settlement; and in November one hundred and sixteen persons embarked at Gravesend, under the direction of General James Oglethorpe, who arrived early the next year at Charleston. He was cordially received by the inhabitants, who were gratified with the prospect of establishing a barrier between themselves and the Spaniards of Florida.

Having explored the country which he was about to occupy, Oglethorpe fixed upon a high bluff on the Savannah river as a suitable situation for a settlement, and there founded the town of Savannah. Having completed the erection of a fort, his next object was to treat with the Indians for a share of their possessions. He accordingly summoned a congress at Savannah, composed of the chiefs of the Upper and Lower Creeks and the Yamacraw Indians, represented to them the wealth, power, and intelligence of the English, and the advantages which would accrue to the natives from an alliance with them, and finally offered to purchase so much of their lands as might be required for the use of the new colony.

After he had distributed presents among the Indians his terms were accepted; and Tomochichi, in the name of the Creek warriors, addressed him in a set speech. Among other observations, he said, 'Here is a little present;' and then gave him a buffalo's skin, painted on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, and desired him to accept it, 'because the eagle signified speed, and the buffalo strength. The English,' he proceeded, 'are as swift as the bird and as strong as the beast; since, like the first, they fly from the utmost parts of the earth, over vast seas, and, like the second, nothing can withstand them. The feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffalo's skin is warm, and signifies protection. He hoped therefore they would love and protect their little families.'

When this treaty was concluded with the natives, and the

colony placed in a state of defence, Oglethorpe returned to England, taking with him Tomochichi, his queen, and several other Indians. On their arrival in London, they were introduced to the king and the nobility, and treated with much distinction. Curiosity, and a desire to conciliate the native tribes, were sufficient motives with the English for lavishing upon them an abundance of civilities and presents, and all classes strove to render their visit agreeable. At the end of four months they returned to their country; and by their influence with the Indian tribes, contributed much to the good understanding which subsequently prevailed between them and the colonists.

During the following year, five or six hundred emigrants arrived and took up their abode in the colony. But it was soon found that the paupers of England were not sufficiently hardy and industrious to form prosperous establishments in a new country. The trustees offered lands to other emigrants; and in consequence of this encouragement, more than four hundred persons arrived from Germany, Scotland, and Switzerland, in 1735. The Highlanders built a fort and town at Darien; and the Germans formed an establishment on the Savannah, which they called Ebenezer. In 1736, Oglethorpe arrived with two ships and three hundred emigrants. In the same year the celebrated John Wesley came out to Georgia, and commenced preaching to the colonists and Indians. His benevolent efforts met with much opposition; and he was soon compelled to return to a more congenial sphere of usefulness in England.

Soon after his return, another distinguished methodist preacher, George Whitefield, arrived in the colony, and formed a project for establishing an orphan house for the education of poor children. He travelled all over the colonies and England, preaching and soliciting subscriptions for this purpose. His eloquence was very efficient in promoting his design; the orphan asylum was established, and still exists, although in no very flourishing condition.

Oglethorpe's attention was now directed to the defence of the colony. He erected a fort on the banks of the Savannah, and another near the mouth of the Altamaha, where a town called Frederica, was laid out and built. Ten miles nearer the sea, on Cumberland Island, he raised a battery, commanding the entrance to Jekyl Sound, and protecting Frederica from ships of war.

The Spaniards sent a commissioner from Havannah, demanding the evacuation of all the territories south of St. Helena Sound, as belonging to the king of Spain. Oglethorpe, having vainly remonstrated against this claim, broke up the conference and returned to England. Here he received the appointment of general and commander-in-chief of all his majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia; and returned with a regiment of six hundred men, designed for the protection of the southern frontier.

The Spaniards, mean time, had been busy in attempting to detach the Creeks from their alliance with the English; but Oglethorpe, on his return, defeated their intrigues; and formed a new treaty of friendship with the chieftains. The Spaniards next employed a most unwarrantable stratagem against the English. Having corrupted an English soldier, who had been in their service, they employed him to excite a mutiny in Oglethorpe's camp, and an audacious attempt was made to assassinate the general. But his life was fortunately preserved, and the principal conspirators were shot.

By a report of the trustees, made in 1740, it appeared that twenty-five hundred emigrants had been sent out to the colony, and five hundred thousand dollars expended on its settlement, without rendering it independent of charitable contributions for support.

An expedition was undertaken in 1740, for the reduction of St. Augustine, under the command of Oglethorpe, with an army consisting of four hundred troops, from Georgia and South Carolina, and a large body of Auxiliary Indians. Two of the Spanish forts were taken, and St. Augustine was formally besieged. But the Spaniards, famous since the days of Scipio, for resisting sieges, maintained their post; and the colonial army was compelled to retire.

In two years afterwards, this invasion was retaliated by a formidable land and naval force, chiefly from Havannah. The army consisted of three thousand men; and their object was to drive Oglethorpe from the frontiers; break up the Georgia settlements, and then march on South Carolina and Virginia. As the South Carolinians had not yet sent him any assistance, the founder of Georgia was now left to his own resources. His operations, in this emergency, are thus described by Dr. Ramsay.

‘When the Spanish force proceeded up the Altamaha, Oglethorpe was obliged to retreat to Frederica. He had but about

seven hundred men besides Indians; yet, with a part of these, he approached within two miles of the enemy's camp, with the design of attacking them by surprise, when a French soldier of his party fired a musket and ran into the Spanish lines. His situation was now very critical, for he knew that the deserter would make known his weakness. Returning, however, to Frederica, he had recourse to the following expedient. He wrote a letter to the deserter, desiring him to acquaint the Spaniards with the defenceless state of Frederica, and to urge them to the attack. If he could not effect this object, Oglethorpe desired him to use all his art to persuade them to stay three days at Fort Simon's; as, within that time, he should have a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, with six ships of war; cautioning him, at the same time, not to drop a hint of Admiral Vernon's meditated attack upon St. Augustine. A Spanish prisoner was intrusted with this letter, under promise of delivering it to the deserter; but he gave it, as was expected and intended, to the commander-in-chief, who instantly put the deserter in irons. In the perplexity occasioned by this letter, while the enemy was deliberating what measures to adopt, three ships of force, which the governor of South Carolina had sent to Oglethorpe's aid, appeared on the coast. The Spanish commander was now convinced, beyond all question, that the letter, instead of being a stratagem, contained serious instructions to a spy; and, in this moment of consternation set fire to the fort, and embarked so precipitately as to leave behind him a number of cannon, with a quantity of military stores. Thus, by an event beyond human foresight or control, by the correspondence between the suggestions of a military genius, and the blowing of the winds, was the infant colony providentially saved from destruction, and Oglethorpe gained the character of an able general. He now returned to England, and never again revisited Georgia. In 1775, he was offered the command of the British army in America. He professed his readiness to accept the appointment, if the ministers would authorise him to assure the colonies that justice would be done them; but the command was given to Sir William Howe. He died in August, 1785, at the age of 97, being the oldest general in the service. Nine years before his death, the province of Georgia, of which he was the father, was raised to the rank of a sovereign independent state, and had been for two years acknowledged as such by the mother country, under whose auspices it had been planted.'

The interesting character and destiny of Oglethorpe has induced us to continue an extract from Dr. Ramsay's sketch, with a trifling omission to the end of his life. We now return to the course of events in Georgia, after the Spanish invasion.

The original charter of Georgia had prohibited the introduction of negroes and rum into the colony. The former of these restrictions was believed to have prevented the successful cultivation of their lands; and the latter cut off all commerce with the West Indies. Their lands also were held by a tenure not satisfactory to the inhabitants. The consequence was, that in ten years after their first settlement, the people could, with great difficulty, obtain a scanty subsistence; and new emigrants were discouraged from entering a colony which laboured under such palpable disadvantages. The complaints which were made to the trustees were utterly disregarded; and the colony was suffered to languish under all its discouragements till the year 1752, when the charter was surrendered to the king.

Under the royal care the people were favoured with the same liberties and privileges as were enjoyed by the neighbouring colonies, and from this period Georgia rapidly advanced in population and wealth.

CHAPTER XXI.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE OLD FRENCH WAR.

HITHERTO we have regarded the British colonies of North America as distinct communities, and have accordingly traced their histories separately, from the periods of settlement to the middle of the eighteenth century. Although they had thus far acknowledged a general relationship, and in some instances had formed political combinations, yet their remoteness from each other, their several difficulties of early colonisation, and the border wars which they were compelled to wage with the aborigines in their respective neighbourhoods, had thus far prevented them from ever becoming consolidated and united in any common design.

It was perhaps fortunate, that the period had now arrived, when their whole frontier was threatened by an enemy suf-

ficiently formidable to demonstrate the necessity of union and concerted action. They were henceforth to be one people, in war and in peace, bound together by common interests, touched by common sympathies, and nerved by one spirit.

The war with France, commenced in 1754, in which that nation vigorously prosecuted its design of fortifying the territory, which it claimed, from Canada to Louisiana, was one in which every colony had a direct and lively interest. It accordingly developed the resources of the whole country, and taught the lesson which, in a subsequent and more interesting struggle, was of such vital importance, namely, that union is strength.

At the period when the war commenced, which was familiarly called, by the revolutionary veterans, the old French war, the French, in addition to their possessions in Canada and Nova Scotia, held a settlement in New Orleans, and a number of others in the surrounding region, to which they had given the name of Louisiana. As their possessions were extended up the Mississippi, they conceived the grand design of forming a complete chain of fortifications from New Orleans to the lakes; thus partially surrounding the English colonies by a bow of which they would constitute the chord.

This project excited the most lively apprehension in the English nation and its colonies. Having granted charters to the first adventurers, embracing the whole territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the English had advanced towards the west, in the full belief that their title to the country, in that direction, could not be controverted. The French settlements, scattered from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, of course interfered with these pretensions, and if held, would not only limit their territory, but expose the English inhabitants to perpetual incursions of the rival nation and its Indian allies, on the whole western border. The claims of France extended to the Alleghany mountains; and the whole fertile vale of the Mississippi became now the subject of a controversy, which could only be decided by the sword.

The white population of the English colonies, at the commencement of this contest, exceeded one million of souls, while that of the French was estimated at only fifty-two thousand.

The governor of New France, a name given to the French possessions collectively, was by no means deterred from his purpose by this great disparity of numbers. While the popu-

lation of his enemies were scattered over a widely extended territory, and under various local governments, that of his own dominion was all under his own direction and occupied a comparatively small space. Besides, his own people were military in their spirit and habits, and his alliance with the Indians commanded a larger number of those barbarous, but efficient auxiliaries, than could be mustered by his opponents. The Five Nations were almost the only Indian allies of the English, while the French were connected by ties of interest and friendship with all the innumerable hordes of the north and west.

The command of Lake Champlain had been already attained by the French, who had erected a strong fort at Crown Point. A chain of fortifications had been extended up the St. Lawrence and along the great lakes; and this was designed to be continued down to the Mississippi. The execution of this design was hastened by an act of the English government. The king had granted to a corporation called the Ohio company, a tract of 600,000 acres of land, lying in the disputed territory; and this company now proceeded to establish trading houses and survey the country.

The governor of Canada, considering this to be an intrusion on the French dominions, wrote to the governors of New York and Pennsylvania, informing them of it, and threatening to seize the English traders, wherever they should be found. This intimation being disregarded, he seized some of the traders and carried them prisoners to Presque Isle, on Lake Erie, where he was engaged in erecting a strong fort. He also opened a communication from Presque Isle, down French Creek and the Alleghany river, to the Ohio, and kept it open by detachments of troops and by entrenchments.

Dinwiddie, the lieutenant governor of Virginia, regarding these proceedings as so many acts of aggression on that colony, laid the subject before the assembly, and despatched Major George Washington, (the same who afterwards became so nobly conspicuous in the annals of his country,) with a letter to the commandant of the French forces on the Ohio, requiring him to retire from the dominions of his Britannic majesty. To this letter the French officer replied that he acted under the orders of his general, then in Canada, and should hold himself responsible only to him.

This answer being equivalent to a defiance, the Virginian spirit was roused, and active preparations were instantly com-

menced for a campaign. Early in the spring of 1754, Major Washington advanced with a detachment of his regiment into the disputed territory, where he fell in with, and defeated a party of hostile French and Indians. Being joined by the remainder of his regiment, he pushed forward with the intention of preoccupying the post at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers; but on his march thither, he met a superior force of French and Indians, who attacked him in a hastily built stockade, and after a gallant resistance, compelled him to capitulate. The post, towards which he was proceeding had already been occupied by the French, who built there a strong fort, which they called Fort Du Quesne.

Meantime the English government were not backward in perceiving and preparing for the approach of war. The Earl of Holderness, secretary of state, had written to the governors of the respective colonies, recommending united action, and directing their attention to the necessity of securing the friendship of the Five Nations; ordering them at the same time to repel force by force, and, if possible, dislodge the French from their posts on the Ohio.

A convention of delegates from the several colonists met at Albany, to treat with the Five Nations. Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, embraced this opportunity of recommending to the other governors to instruct their commissioners on the subject of union. The delegates from Massachusetts and Maryland received the necessary instructions: the others received no direct authority for this purpose. The congress of delegates, however, after endeavouring to secure the friendship of the Five Nations by large presents, directed a committee to report a plan of union. It was accordingly reported, and approved on the 4th of July. It provided for a grand council of delegates from the several legislatures, and a president general to be appointed by the king, and invested with a negative power. This council was to enact general laws for the union, raise money, and provide for, and regulate the system of general defence.

The delegates from Connecticut dissented from this plan, being apprehensive of the dangerous powers vested in the president general. The English government disapproved of the plan, on the ground that the union might eventually lead to a concerted system of resistance to the supremacy of the mother country. The scheme was therefore laid aside. Subsequent events proved that both objecting parties under-

stood full well the tendency of such a union as the one proposed.

The ministry presented a plan of their own, which was still less acceptable; and it was accordingly determined to carry on the war with British troops aided by such reinforcements as the colonies could raise.

Early in the year 1755, General Braddock arrived from Europe with an army, and convened the governors of the several provinces in Virginia, on the 14th of April, for the purpose of adopting a plan for the campaign. It was resolved to carry on three expeditions; one against Fort Du Quesne, to be conducted by General Braddock, at the head of the British army and auxiliary forces from Maryland and Virginia; a second against Niagara and Fort Frontignac, under the command of Governor Shirley, his own and Pepperel's regiments constituting the principal force; and a third against Crown Point, led by Colonel William Johnson, and composed of the colonial troops raised in New England and New York.

Meantime, the government of Massachusetts, having already projected an invasion of Nova Scotia, sent out three thousand men to that province, under Colonel Winslow, who embarked at Boston, in May; and in the course of the month of June, with the loss of only three men, the English acquired complete possession of the whole country. This conquest was followed by the confiscation of the lands and moveables belonging to the French inhabitants, and their dispersion through the English colonies; a measure which the English considered necessary though severe; inasmuch as the war, which was already commenc'd, would render it extremely unsafe to permit their continuance in Nova Scotia, or their retirement to Canada. No parole, nor even the oath of allegiance to England, had ever been found sufficiently binding on these people, to prevent their taking an active part against the English, whenever an opportunity was afforded.

After the convention of governors had separated, General Braddock proceeded to Fort Cumberland, in the western part of Virginia. After waiting here some time for the residue of his army, he selected 1200 men, and pushing forward towards Fort Du Quesne, reached the Monongahela, on the 8th of July. On the march, he was repeatedly warned to guard against a surprise. Washington, and the other provincial officers, advised him to send forward the provincial troops, to scour the woods, and look out for ambuscades.

But Braddock, confident in his own skill and bravery, disregarded their advice, and absurdly persisted in marching forward, as if no hidden enemy were to be apprehended. His van was composed of British troops, totally unaccustomed to forest warfare; and the main body, with the artillery, followed at some distance.

When within seven miles of Fort Du Quesne, in an open wood, thick set with high grass, as the troops were pressing boldly forward, the war whoop resounded in their ears, and a destructive fire was poured in upon them from thousands of invisible enemies. Every rock, and tree, and stump, appeared to conceal a marksman. The van was thrown into confusion; but the main body being ordered to come up, and the fire of the enemy being suspended in consequence of the fall of their commander, they were supposed to be dispersed. But in a few minutes the attack was renewed with increased fury; the van was driven back upon the main body; and the whole army was thrown into utter confusion. The officers on horseback were conspicuous marks for the Indian sharpshooters; and most of them were brought down. In a short time Washington was the only aide-de-camp left alive, and not wounded. He had two horses shot under him, and four bullets passed through his coat; but he escaped unhurt. He was reserved, by Providence, to perform future and more important services. Throughout the whole of that tremendous scene he displayed the most perfect coolness and self-possession. Braddock was not less undaunted. Amidst the whistling of the Indian bullets, he endeavoured to rally his men, and restore order. But being totally unacquainted with the Indian mode of fighting, he neither allowed his men to push into the forest singly and attack the enemy in their own way, nor did he order a retreat. He endeavoured to form his broken troops on the spot where they were first attacked, and where they still remained exposed to the fire of a sheltered enemy. The battle lasted three hours. The general, after having three horses shot under him, received a mortal wound. The British officers fought with determined bravery; and out of eighty-five, lost sixty-four of their number, killed and wounded. The common soldiers of the British regiments were so unaccustomed to this savage mode of attack, that they soon broke and could not be rallied; but the provincial troops stood their ground coolly; and, under the command of Colonel Washington, covered the retreat of their associates.

The Indians, attracted by the rich plunder left upon the field, soon gave over the pursuit. The army retreated to the camp of Colonel Dunbar, where Braddock died of his wounds. The panic of the defeated portion of the army was communicated to those troops which had been left in reserve; and the whole of the British troops, after destroying the chief part of their stores, hastily retreated to Philadelphia; leaving the entire western frontier of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, exposed to the incursions of the savages. The settlements on the border were broken up, and the inhabitants driven towards the sea-board. Distress and dismay were universal. Such were the effects of the presumption and folly of one man. Had Braddock but listened to the prudent counsels of Washington, the border would, probably, have been freed from the presence of a savage enemy; and the inhabitants might have held their possessions in peace.

The two northern expeditions, though less disastrous than this, were both unsuccessful. The expedition of 1500 men, commanded by General Shirley, against Niagara, was delayed so that he was not able to reach Oswego, till late in August: while attempting to embark 600 men on the lake, his progress was arrested by a succession of heavy rains. The troops were discouraged and the Indians dispersed. The season being then too far advanced for the success of the enterprise, the general retired to Albany, leaving 700 men in Oswego, under Colonel Mercer.

The third expedition of this campaign, that against Crown Point, was also delayed till the last of August. Baron Dieskau, the French commander, advanced to attack Johnson, who was on his march to Crown Point. Colonel Williams, with 1000 men, was detached to meet him, but fell in the onset; and his party retired. A second detachment, ordered forward for his support, was also driven in upon the main body, who awaited it, posted behind fallen trees. The French, who were in close pursuit of the fugitives, now halted. The Americans commenced an effective fire, with musketry and two pieces of artillery, and soon put the enemy to flight, in their turn. Dieskau was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner. This victory re-assured the colonists, and removed the depression which Braddock's defeat had occasioned. Johnson was rewarded with 5000*l.* and the title of baronet.

Thus ended the campaign of 1755, leaving the colonies without any important point gained, except the recovery of

Nova Scotia; while the French and Indians maintained complete ascendancy on the frontier; and, by their bloody incursions, broke up the border settlements, murdering the people, carrying them into captivity, or driving them into the more thickly settled regions. This disastrous result is to be attributed to the want of union and concerted action.

Notwithstanding these hostile operations, war had not yet been formally declared between France and England. This took place, however, in the following spring, in consequence of the capture of part of a French squadron, destined for America, by Admiral Boscawen.

The plan for the campaign of 1756, was similar to that of 1755. In a grand council of war, held by General Shirley, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and the governors of Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, it was resolved to attempt the reduction of Crown Point and Niagara, with the other posts on Lake Ontario, and of Fort Du Quesne. For this purpose it was determined to raise 19,000 men in America. This number was so unusually large, that much delay was experienced in the raising of recruits. A further source of difficulty was the regulation requiring that provincial officers should be under British officers when they acted together.

While they were adjusting their claims to rank, and deliberating whether to attack Niagara, or Fort Du Quesne, Montcalm, the successor of Dieskau, an accomplished and brave officer, advanced at the head of 5000 French and Indians, and invested Oswego. The garrison consisting of 1600 men, well supplied with provisions, was soon compelled to surrender; and the fortress was demolished.

This bold measure completely disconcerted the original plan of the campaign, and nothing was thought of now, but security against further losses. An invasion was expected; and the colonies were urged to send forward reinforcements. To add to the distress, the small-pox broke out in Albany, and spread such alarm, that it was found necessary to garrison the posts in that neighbourhood with British troops, and discharge all the provincials, except a regiment raised in New York. Thus, the second campaign terminated as unfortunately as the preceding one.

The campaign of 1757 was, nevertheless, commenced with great zeal and activity. Lord Loudoun, the new commander-in-chief of the British forces, applied for 4000 men from New

England, which were promptly granted. A formidable fleet and army arrived from England; and confident hopes were now entertained of the speedy downfall of the French power in America. It was determined to concentrate the whole disposable force upon one point—the fortress of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. But intelligence being received that an immense land and naval force had been sent out to this place from France, and the strength of the fortifications being perfectly well known to the Americans, the proposed expedition was abandoned, and the British admiral and general returned from New England to New York.

The French general, Montcalm, meantime determined to gain complete possession of Lake George. Collecting from the forts at Crown Point, and Ticonderoga, and from the Canadian and Indian establishments, an army of 9000 men, he laid siege to Fort William Henry, a place of considerable strength, with a garrison of 3000 men, and urged his attack with so much skill and resolution, that in six days the commander, Colonel Monroe, was compelled to capitulate. A reinforcement, sent to his aid did not arrive in time. Its return to New York, in August, closed the military operations of this season.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONQUEST OF CANADA.

AT the close of the campaign of 1757, the affairs of Great Britain, and of her colonies in America, wore a very unpromising aspect. Three campaigns, carried on with immense exertion and expense, had produced nothing but disaster and defeat. The lakes, and the whole western and northern border, were in possession of the French and Indians; who with a vastly inferior force, had maintained their ground, and even extended their encroachments. The French had been successful everywhere. The British had everywhere experienced reverses. Not only in America, but in Europe and Asia, their arms had been unsuccessful. It was seriously apprehended that the French would make good their claim to the whole valley of the Mississippi, and thus fulfil their design of

connecting Canada with Louisiana, and confining the British settlements to the Atlantic border. In the colonies men looked forward with apprehension and dismay.

But a new era was at hand. One of those 'choice and master spirits,' that never fail to leave their impress on their age and nation, had risen to the direction of affairs in Britain; and summoned to his aid the best talents of the country. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, had been placed at the head of the new administration; and, uniting a bold and masterly style of eloquence, with consummate ability in the management of state affairs, he possessed the full confidence of the nation, and the complete command of its resources. His plans of operation were grand; and the means which he employed for their accomplishment, were always adequate to their object. Superior to the prejudices of party, he sought out and employed merit, wherever it could be found. His means, and his talents, were greater than had been possessed by any of his predecessors.

Pitt was highly popular in America, and the confidence inspired by his energy and decision, led the colonists to make every exertion, and every sacrifice, which the occasion required. A circular letter of Mr. Pitt, assured the several governors, that, to repair past losses and disappointments, the cabinet was determined to send a formidable sea and land force to America; and he called upon them to raise as many men as possible, promising all the munitions of war, and a future compensation for the expenses of the soldiers' wages and clothes.

Massachusetts agreed to furnish 7,000 men; Connecticut 5,000; New Hampshire 3,000. These troops were in the field in May. Meanwhile the British fleets blocked up, in the French ports, the men and stores designed for Canada, or captured them on the sea. A powerful armament sailed from England. Twelve thousand men, under the command of General Amherst, arrived in Halifax: and soon after Major General Abercrombie, the commander in chief, found himself at the head of an army of fifty thousand men, of whom twenty thousand were provincials.

Three expeditions were proposed. One against Louisbourg; a second against Ticonderoga and Crown Point; and a third against Fort Du Quesne. That against Louisbourg consisted of 14,000 men, 20 ships of the line, and 18 frigates. This formidable armament arrived before Louisbourg on the

2d of June ; and, in less than eight weeks, the 27th of July, the fortress was surrendered.

The expedition against Ticonderoga and Crown Point was unsuccessful. Sixteen thousand men were ordered on this service. They crossed Lake George in boats ; and, landing on the western side, were soon engaged with the enemy. Lord Howe fell at the first fire. General Abercrombie proceeded ; and, after an action, took possession of a post near Ticonderoga. On the 8th of July, he attempted to carry the fortress itself, by assault. But the works were strong ; and the commander was the able and courageous Montcalm. After a contest of four hours, and the loss of 1,800 men, the British were compelled to retire.

Abercrombie now detached Colonel Bradstreet, with 3,000 men, and eight pieces of cannon, who succeeded in capturing Fort Frontignac, an unimportant post, on the north side of Lake Ontario, garrisoned by 110 men. The fort being destroyed, Bradstreet returned to the main body ; and nothing further was attempted, by this division of the forces, during the campaign.

The expedition against Fort du Quesne was undertaken by Brigadier Forbes, with 8,000 men. On arriving at the fort, they found it abandoned by the garrison, who had gone down the Ohio river in boats. The place was thenceforward called Pittsburg, in honour of Mr. Pitt. The Indians came in, and entered into treaties which gave peace and security to the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania.

Two of the three objects of the campaign of 1758 had thus been accomplished. It now remained to attempt the entire conquest of Canada. Accordingly it was agreed, that in the next year, three powerful armies should enter Canada by different routes, and severally attack the strongholds of the enemy. General Wolfe, with one division, was to ascend the St. Lawrence, and lay siege to Quebec. Another division was to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point ; and then descend the river and join General Wolfe before Quebec. The third division, under General Prideaux, was to reduce Niagara and Montreal, and then proceed to Quebec, the ultimate object of the whole force. General Amherst advanced to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and found those places abandoned. He then made an unsuccessful attempt to gain possession of the lake ; but, after capturing two vessels, was obliged by storms and the advanced season of

the year, to return to Crown Point and go into winter quarters. Prideaux besieged Niagara; and, being killed, the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, who succeeded in reducing the place. Neither of these armies was able to effect a union with General Wolfe. Fortunately he was able to effect the grand object, without their co-operation.

Embarking at Louisbourg, with 8,000 men, and a formidable train of artillery, Wolfe proceeded up the St. Lawrence, and landed his army on the island of Orleans, near Quebec. The difficulties which he had to encounter were sufficiently great to have deterred a less ardent commander; but it was a maxim of Wolfe's, that 'a victorious army finds no difficulties.' He first attacked the French entrenchments at the falls of Montmorency, but without success. He then landed his troops in the night, and ascended a steep craggy cliff to an eminence, called the Heights of Abraham, in rear of the city. Montcalm, the French general in chief, now determined to leave his camp and attack the English army.

Accordingly, on the 13th of September, he drew out his forces, and prepared for a pitched battle. The French advanced to the charge with their usual spirit, and the action commenced with great resolution on both sides. The English reserved their fire till the French were within forty yards of them; and then gave it with effect. Wolfe, advancing at the head of the British grenadiers with charged bayonets, received a mortal wound. Monckton, who succeeded in the command, was shot through the body; and the direction of the army devolved on General Townshend. Montcalm also received a mortal wound; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The French were driven from the field; and a reinforcement, brought forward by Bougainville, was also compelled to retire.

It appears that, in this decisive action, the numbers on both sides were nearly equal. The English troops, however, were all veterans, while those of the French commander were but half of that description. The French regulars were almost all destroyed, while the English loss was less than 600 in killed and wounded. They had to mourn, however, the loss of their gallant commander; which was regarded as a national calamity in the mother country, as well as in the colonies. He received a ball in his wrist at the commencement of the action; but he wrapped

a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. He soon afterwards received a ball in the body, but also concealed this wound, and was advancing at the head of the grenadiers, when a third bullet pierced his breast. In a dying state, he unwillingly suffered himself to be borne to the rear, still evincing the greatest anxiety for the fate of the day. Being informed that the enemy's ranks were breaking, he reclined his head, from extreme faintness, on the arm of an officer. He was soon roused by the cry, 'They fly, they fly.' 'Who fly?' he exclaimed. 'The French,' was the reply. 'Then,' said the dying hero, 'I die happy,' and almost instantly expired. How many tears have been shed at this simple but touching recital! How often, by the firesides of the colonists, for years afterwards, has the touching ballad in which his gallantry and his mournful fate are sung, drawn forth the sympathies of the listening circle. Wolfe was the favourite hero of our ancestors; and his name was long cherished with grateful remembrance.

While General Townshend was making preparations for the siege of Quebec, the town capitulated, on condition that the inhabitants should be protected in their religious and civil rights, till a treaty of peace should determine their future condition. General Murray left a garrison of 5,000 men at Quebec, and sailed, with the fleet, and the remainder of the army, from the St. Lawrence.

The campaign of 1760 was directed to the reduction of Montreal, and the remaining posts of the French in Canada. A well-concerted union of three divisions of forces, under Amherst, Johnson, and Haviland, secured the capitulation of Montreal, in September; and all the other fortresses were soon after surrendered to the English. The French power in Canada was thus entirely overthrown; and it thenceforward became a British province.

The British arms were equally successful in other parts of the world. Important conquests were made in Europe, Asia, and Africa. Spain having declared war against England, in 1762, lost the important city of Havannah, while France was compelled to surrender Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and all the Caribbee Islands. A general treaty of peace gave Britain all her conquests in North America, with the river and port of Mobile, and all the French territory on the eastern side of the Mississippi, reserving only the island of New Orleans. The French

possessions, in that quarter, were thenceforward bounded by the Mississippi, from its source to the river Iberville, and thence by a line drawn along the middle of that river, and of the lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain.

The Havannah was exchanged with Spain for the Floridas. The British empire, in North America, was thus not only extensively widened, but clearly defined by great natural boundaries, which bade fair to remove all future causes of controversy with other nations respecting their possessions on the continent.

One hundred and sixty years had elapsed between the first permanent British settlement in North America, and the conquest of Canada. During a great part of this period, England, France, and Spain, had been contending respecting the boundaries of their several possessions on the continent; and the wars to which these controversies gave rise were of the most distressing and sanguinary character. Each power was willing to employ the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage in its aggressions on the others; and all the barbarities of Indian warfare were thus brought home to the firesides of the defenceless settlers. Well might the inhabitants of the country now rejoice that the controversy was terminated; and look forward with hope for a period of undisturbed tranquillity.

[CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REVOLUTION.

THE attachment of the American colonies to the mother country was never stronger than at the close of the French war, which terminated in the conquest of Canada. To the natural ties of brotherhood were superadded the strongest feelings of mutual regard, arising from a participation in common dangers and a common victory. The colonists were proud of their descent from British ancestors, and their connection with one of the most powerful nations of Europe. They were also fully sensible of the value of English liberty; and every colonist believed himself to be equally entitled with his brethren on the opposite side of the Atlantic to all

the essential rights of a British subject. The habits of the early settlers, and many circumstances in the history of their descendants, had led them to study with attention and lively interest the principles of political liberty, and to watch, with the most jealous vigilance, against every encroachment of arbitrary power. The degree of authority which might be legally exercised over the colonies by the parent state, had never been very clearly defined. The doctrine prevailed in England, that parliament had the power of binding them in all cases whatever. In America this had been repeatedly and publicly denied.

In New England, the colonial assemblies were supposed to possess every legislative power not expressly surrendered. This, however, had been modified into an admission that parliament might regulate commerce, but not the internal affairs of the colonies. As early as 1692, the general court of Massachusetts passed an act, denying the right of any other legislature to lay a tax on the colony; and, not long after, the same denial was extended, by the assembly of New York, to all legislation over the colony. These acts were disapproved, and expressly denied in England, in 1696; and the power of parliament to regulate certain internal affairs of the colonies, had been established by usage. In the middle and southern colonies, while the power of general legislation was admitted to belong to parliament, that of direct internal taxation was denied. Schemes for taxing the colonies by authority of parliament had been formed in 1739, and again in 1754; but, from temporary causes, they had been abandoned.

The expenses of the recent war had rendered necessary a great addition to the usual taxes of the English nation. Apprehensive of rendering themselves unpopular, by pressing too severely on the resources of the people at home, the ministry directed their attention to the North American colonies, and determined to revive the scheme for raising a revenue from that source. Mr. Grenville, first commissioner of the treasury (1763), introduced a resolution, which was passed, without much debate, declaring that it would be proper to impose certain stamp duties on the colonies. The actual imposition of them was deferred till the next year.

At the same time, other resolutions were passed, imposing new duties on the trade of the colonies; those on the commerce with the French and Spanish colonies amounted to a

prohibition of fair trade, and the regulations for collecting them were calculated to prevent the smuggling which had hitherto been overlooked, or connived at. All the naval officers, on the American station, were converted into revenue officers; and many seizures were made. The forfeitures were ordered to be decided on by courts of vice-admiralty; as if the government distrusted the impartiality of the ordinary tribunals.

These acts were received in the colonies with a general feeling of indignation. Treated hitherto with comparative kindness and indulgence, the people could not fail to perceive that such measures were harsh and coercive. They were, in fact, not less impolitic than unkind; for it could not reasonably be expected that those communities, who had been left to grow in the free air of independence in childhood, and had acted as the allies of the parent state in youth, would submit to a system of unbending restraint, when they had attained to the strength and maturity of manhood. Parliament should have understood, that while the colonies were becoming more and more jealous of their rights, they were also becoming sensible of their power. If they had learned the lesson of civil freedom from the Pilgrims, they had also learned the art of war from the French and Indians.

The resolution to lay a duty on stamps was particularly odious in the colonies; and the right of parliament to impose taxes on the colonies for the express purpose of raising a revenue was strongly and universally denied. Petitions to the king, and memorials to parliament, against the measure, were sent in from several of the provincial assemblies. The agent of Massachusetts, in England, was instructed to use his utmost endeavours to prevent the passing of the stamp act; and associations were entered into, in various parts of the country, to diminish the use of British manufactures.

These, and other measures of the same tendency, did not prevent the ministry of Great Britain from persisting in their determination; and, accordingly, in the spring of 1765, the famous Stamp Act was passed; not, however, without a spirited opposition from the minority. The act provided, that contracts, bills, notes of hand, and other legal documents, should be written on stamped paper, which the British government was to furnish at certain high prices, or that these contracts, &c. should not be valid in law. It was

a direct, and a very heavy tax, on almost every transaction in business.

The passing of this law excited the most serious alarm throughout the colonies. It was perceived at once to be the commencement of a system of extortion, which would leave the people nothing which they could securely call their own. It therefore became necessary to resist its execution or procure its repeal, or to give up all claims to civil liberty.

Combinations were immediately formed against the execution of the law; and every exertion was made by the popular leaders to impress on the public mind the fatal consequences of submitting to it. The assembly of Virginia, on motion of the celebrated Patrick Henry, passed resolutions, declaring the exclusive right of that assembly to lay taxes and impositions on the inhabitants of the colony. Other colonial legislatures passed similar resolutions. The house of representatives of Massachusetts, perceiving the necessity of combined action, recommended a CONGRESS of deputies, from all the colonial assemblies, to meet at New York on the first Monday in October. Meantime the press was not idle; and the popular clamour was so urgent that nearly all the stamp officers were compelled to resign.

The first continental congress met at the time appointed. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Three Lower Counties on the Delaware, and South Carolina, were represented. Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was chosen president. Their first measure was a declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonists. In this important state paper, they asserted their title to all the rights and liberties of natural-born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain; the chief of which are the exclusive power to tax themselves and the trial by jury; both of which had been invaded by the recent acts of parliament; and the tendency of these acts to subvert their rights and liberties were clearly pointed out. They also addressed a petition to the king, and a memorial to each house of parliament.

These papers were temperate and respectful, but firm; expressing the attachment of the colonies to the mother country, but earnestly declaring their rights. After recommending to the several colonies to appoint special agents for obtaining a redress of grievances, and transmitting a copy of their proceedings to each colony, the congress adjourned.

Meantime the people formed associations to encourage domestic manufactures and the raising of sheep, in order to dispense with the usual supplies from England; and, to avoid using stamps, law proceedings were suspended, and arbitrations resorted to. Some riotous and disorderly proceedings took place, which resulted in the destruction of property, and much insult and abuse to obnoxious supporters of the British government.

While these things were passing in America, a complete change took place in the ministry of Great Britain. Mr. Pitt, in parliament, openly condemned the stamp act, and recommended its immediate repeal; asserting that parliament had no right to tax the colonies. The late ministers opposed this opinion, and predicted a revolution. After a highly-spirited debate, the stamp act was repealed; but, at the same time, a declaratory act was passed, asserting the right of Great Britain to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever.

In America the news of the repeal of the stamp act was received with the liveliest expressions of joy and gratitude. Public thanksgivings were offered in the churches. The importation of British goods was again encouraged; and the home-spun dresses being given to the poor, the people once more appeared clad in the products of the mother country. The declaratory act, asserting the supremacy of parliament, being considered a mere salvo to wounded pride, was little regarded; and the colonies believed that the attempt to force direct internal taxes would not again be made.

A circular letter was addressed by secretary Conway, to the governors of the several colonies, in which he censured the colonists in mild terms for the late disturbances, but at the same time required compensation to be made to those who had suffered by the riots, which had taken place at Boston and New York, in the summer of 1765. In June, 1766, this letter was laid before the assembly of Massachusetts, by Governor Bernard, accompanied by such remarks, that the assembly thought proper to delay the act of indemnity till December, and then to accompany it with a general pardon to all offenders in the late riots. This act was disallowed by the king and council, on the ground, that the pardoning power belonged exclusively to the crown. This, however, did not prevent the act from taking effect. Governor Bernard was naturally haughty and tyrannical, and

delighted to thwart the legislature in all their proceedings. His conduct exasperated the popular party, and confirmed them in their opposition.

In New York, the legislature voluntarily compensated the sufferers by the riots ; but refused to execute an act of parliament, called the Mutiny Act, for quartering the king's troops upon them ; because it appeared to involve the principle of taxation. The same thing was refused by the legislature of Massachusetts for the same reason.

Meantime, a change had taken place in the British cabinet. William Pitt came into power with a ministry composed of different parties, and under their auspices a new act of parliament was passed, laying a tax on glass, paper, pasteboard, white and red lead, painters' colours and tea, imported into the colonies. Pitt was at this time confined by sickness in the country.

The refusal of the legislatures of New York and Massachusetts to execute the mutiny act, being disapproved by the ministry and parliament, an act was passed restraining the legislature of New York from passing any law whatever until they furnished the king's troops with all that was required by the mutiny act. At the same time commissioners were appointed for executing the revenue laws, in a more speedy and effectual manner than had hitherto been done.

The reception of these laws in America was anything but cordial. All minds were at once employed in considering, and all pens in defending, the rights which they invaded. The legislature of New York granted the required supplies ; but in Massachusetts the spirit of resistance was again awakened, and displayed itself particularly in opposition to the required grants of money for the maintenance of crown officers. The legislature addressed a circular to the other colonies, stating the difficulties to be apprehended from the late acts of parliament, and calling upon them for their co-operation in measures for obtaining redress.

On receiving information of this proceeding, the ministry were alarmed at the prospect it presented of a new combination among the colonies, and Lord Hillsborough, secretary of state, wrote to the governor of Massachusetts requiring it to be rescinded. This order the legislature, in June, 1768, refused to comply with, declaring their right to petition for redress of grievances, and to call on the other colonies to unite with them for the same purpose. On the

question to rescind, James Otis, of Boston, said, 'When Lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, let him apply to parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britain rescind their measures, or they are lost for ever.' On receiving information of the decision of the house, Governor Bernard dissolved the assembly.

The other colonies were equally refractory. The assemblies of Maryland, New York, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia, expressed their sentiments respecting Lord Hillsborough's letter in decided language.

In the meantime, Lord Chatham had retired from office, and Lord North was appointed chancellor of the Exchequer. A new office was created—that of secretary of state for the colonies, to which Lord Hillsborough was appointed. This circumstance shewed the importance attached to colonial affairs by the British government.

The colonists were adopting various measures of their own for procuring a redress of grievances. Finding their petitions and remonstrances to the king and parliament disregarded, they had recourse to the old measure of combining in a determination not to import British goods; a measure highly injurious to the interests of the commercial class of the mother country. Boston, as usual, took the lead; and in one of those famous town meetings, which have given to Faneuil Hall the name of the 'Cradle of Liberty,' it was resolved to encourage domestic manufactures, and to purchase no article of foreign growth or manufacture, but such as were absolutely indispensable. New York and Philadelphia followed the example, and in a short time, the merchants themselves formed associations to import nothing from Great Britain but articles that necessity required.

The board of commissioners of customs, appointed by the late act of parliament, entered upon the duties of their office at Boston. From the excitement existing at that place, a collision between them and the people was daily expected. This was soon brought on by the seizure of Mr. Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, for a violation of the revenue laws. John Hancock, though a merchant of great wealth, was attached to the popular cause; and this circumstance, together with the hatred entertained for the revenue collectors, served to heighten their indignation on this occasion. Supposing that the sloop would not be safe at the wharf in their custody, the custom-house officers had solicited aid from a ship of

war, lying in the harbour, and the sloop was cut from her fastening, and brought under the guns of the ship. It was to prevent this removal that the mob had collected. Many of the officers were wounded in the scuffle, and the multitude being baffled in their attempts to retain the sloop at the wharf, repaired to the houses of the collector, and other officers of the customs, where they committed acts of violence and injury to their property. This riotous disposition lasting for several days, the commissioners of customs applied for protection to the governor; but he, not being able to protect them, advised them to remove from Boston; they consequently retired first, on board the Romney man-of-war, and afterwards to Castle William.

The rioters were prosecuted; but the prosecutions could not be successfully carried on, in consequence of the public excitement. About this time, some seamen were impressed in Boston, by order of the officers of the Romney. A town meeting being called, in consequence of this aggression, a petition full of complaints of repeated outrages, and praying for redress, was sent to the governor. The general court of Massachusetts having been dissolved by governor Bernard, who refused to convene it again without the king's command, a convention was assembled at Boston, composed of delegates from the several towns in the colony, to deliberate on constitutional measures of redress. They disclaimed legislative authority, but petitioned the governor to assemble the general court, professed their loyalty, wrote to the agent of the province in England, stating the character in which they met; and, after recommending patience and order to the people, dissolved the session.

The day before the convention rose, two regiments, which had been detached by general Gage, arrived under convoy at Nantasket road. Next day, the fleet was brought to anchor near Castle William. Having taken a station which commanded the town, the ships having their broadsides towards it, the troops landed to the number of seven hundred men, and marched with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets, martial music, and the usual military parade, to the common. In the evening the selectmen of Boston were ordered to quarter the two regiments in the town; but they absolutely refused. A temporary shelter was permitted, however, to one regiment, without its camp equipage, in Fanueil Hall. The next day, the state house was opened

for the soldiers by the order of the governor, and two field-pieces, with the main guard, were stationed just in its front.

This was regarded by the people as a peculiar outrage. The very temple of liberty was profaned by the presence of armed soldiers. The council chamber having been reserved, the members of that body were compelled to pass guards of soldiery in order to reach their place of meeting. The common was covered with tents. Soldiers were constantly marching through the streets; and sentinels challenged the inhabitants as they passed. The Sabbath was profaned, and the devotion of the sanctuary disturbed by the sound of martial music. The place had all the appearance of a garrison town. The people felt the insult, but were by no means intimidated, and when a requisition was made for barracks for the troops, the council declined to furnish them, lest by so doing they might seem to adopt a measure of submission. In a few weeks a fresh reinforcement of troops arrived, under Colonels Mackay and Pomeroy.

Parliament, meantime, resolved to persevere in the system of coercion, and united in an address to the king expressing their satisfaction at the measures which he had pursued, giving assurance of their support, and beseeching him to direct the governor of Massachusetts to institute an inquiry into all acts of treason committed in that colony since 1767, and to send the offenders to England for trial.

Nothing could have been done more effectually to irritate the people than this resolution. The general court of Massachusetts was not in session when it reached America; but the house of burgesses of Virginia passed resolutions, asserting the exclusive right of taxing the colony and the right of trial by jury in the vicinage; and ordered their speaker to transmit copies of the resolutions to the other colonies. An address to the king, of the usual tenor, was also voted. The governor, on learning the character of these proceedings, dissolved the assembly. This measure only inflamed the spirit of opposition; the assembly was immediately convened, at a private house, and unanimously resolved on agreements not to import British goods, similar to those which had been entered into at the north.

The general court of Massachusetts was convened on the 30th of May, 1769; and, after some altercation with the governor, concerning the subjects of legislation, it was removed to Cambridge. On the 6th of July, the governor made a re-

quisition for funds to defray the expenses of the troops in Boston, which was decisively refused; and resolutions were passed at the same time, recommending assemblies of the people in the several towns, to petition for redress of grievances and declaration of rights. The governor then prorogued the general court, to meet at Boston, on the 10th of January.

On the first of August, governor Bernard was recalled, leaving the administration of the province in the hands of lieutenant governor Hutchinson. The people, on his departure, manifested their joy by ringing the bells, firing guns, covering their liberty tree with flags, and kindling a great bonfire on Fort Hill.

In 1770, Lord North was appointed prime minister. His first measure was partly conciliatory; it was a repeal of the port duties; but with the exception of the duty on tea. This left the assertion of the right of taxation in full force; and of course was wholly unsatisfactory to the colonists.

The presence of the military in Boston too, still served to keep alive the animosity of the people, who were constantly brought into unpleasant collision with these unwelcome and uninvited guests. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, an affray took place in King-street, now called State-street, in which a small detachment of soldiers, under the command of Captain Preston, after being assaulted with snow balls and other missiles, and one of them struck with a club, fired upon the populace, killing three men, mortally wounding two, and slightly wounding several others.

The drums were instantly heard beating to arms; thousands of the people assembled, and seeing the dead bodies of their fellow citizens who had fallen in the cause of liberty, they resolved on a general attack upon the soldiery. The lieutenant governor being sent for, addressed the people from the balcony of the state house, and at length prevailed upon them peaceably to disperse. The next day, Captain Preston and his party of soldiers were committed to prison, to await the course of law; and the troops were all withdrawn from the town to Castle William.

Those who had fallen in this affair, were honoured with a public funeral of great pomp and solemnity. The shops were closed; the bells of Boston and the neighbouring towns were tolled; and an immense number of citizens followed the first martyrs of the opening revolution to their final resting place.

Captain Preston and his soldiers were brought to trial some time after. Six weeks were spent in examining witnesses and hearing counsel; and John Adams and Josiah Quincy, who were distinguished leaders of the popular party, exerted themselves with great ability in defence of the accused. The captain and six of the men were acquitted; and two were found guilty of man-slaughter. This result was highly honourable to the distinguished counsel and to the impartial tribunal of the colony.

The occurrences of 1771, were not important. Hutchinson, the lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, was appointed governor; and used his prerogative of adjourning the general court from Boston to Cambridge and Salem, in spite of the remonstrances of the members.

In 1772, a bold act of hostility was committed in Rhode Island, which greatly exasperated the British ministry. Lieutenant Doddington, who commanded the revenue schooner Gaspee, had become very obnoxious to the people of that colony, by his extraordinary zeal in the execution of the revenue laws. On the 9th of June, the Providence packet was sailing into the harbour of Newport, and Lieutenant Doddington thought proper to require the captain to lower his colours. This being refused, as degrading, the Gaspee fired at the packet, to bring her to: the American captain, however, still holding his course and keeping in shoal water, contrived to run the schooner aground in the chase. As the tide was ebbing, the Gaspee was set fast for the night, during which, a number of fishermen, aided by some of the most respectable inhabitants of Providence, manned some boats and boarded the Gaspee. The lieutenant was wounded in the affray; but, with everything belonging to him, he, with his crew, was carefully conveyed on shore. The vessel, with her stores, was then burned, and the party returned home. A reward of five hundred pounds, offered by the governor, and every exertion to discover the perpetrators of this bold action, were ineffectual. The people were banded together by a principle of resistance to tyranny which neither threats nor promises could shake.

Committees of correspondence were this year organised in the several towns of Massachusetts, for the purpose of securing concert of action, in their measures of opposition, and, in 1773, at the suggestion of the house of burgesses of Virginia, standing committees were appointed by the different

colonial assemblies; and by this means a confidential communication and interchange of opinions was kept up between the colonies.

Lord Dartmouth, who was supposed to entertain favourable views towards the colonists, having succeeded Lord Hillsborough, as secretary of state for the colonies, the legislature of Massachusetts addressed a letter to him, expressing a desire for complete reconciliation. This, however, was ineffectual. Neither the British cabinet, nor the nation, was disposed to recede from the ground they had taken.

About this time, a discovery was made, which caused a great deal of excitement in New England. Doctor Franklin, the agent of Massachusetts in England, obtained possession of the letters which had been addressed by governor Hutchinson and lieutenant governor Oliver, to the department of state, and sent them to the general court. They were evidently designed to induce the ministry to persist in their obnoxious measures. They represented the patriots as a mere faction who were not countenanced by the mass of the people, and who were emboldened by the weakness of the means used to restrain them. More vigorous measures were recommended; and, among the rest, a plan for altering the charters of the colonies, and making the high officers dependent solely on the crown for their salaries.

The assembly passed a vote of censure on the writers of these letters; and petitioned the king to remove them for ever from the government of the colony. This petition was disapproved; but Hutchinson was soon after removed and General Gage appointed to succeed him.

The effect of this disclosure of the treachery of Hutchinson and Oliver was electrifying. The passions of the people were inflamed by it to the highest pitch; and their expectation of a better understanding with the government, was greatly diminished by the conviction that traitors among them were engaged in misrepresenting the state of the country and their own dispositions to the ministry.

The duties on other importations excepting tea, had been removed; and an alteration, corresponding to this change, had been made by the colonists in their non-importation agreements. Tea, therefore, remained the only prohibited article. Great quantities of it had accumulated in the warehouses of the East India Company; and, as none was ordered by the colonial merchants, it was determined to send it over

on consignment. The company were allowed to export it from England free of duty, so that, although the obnoxious duty on its importation into the colonies still remained, it was offered at lower prices than in former times. Confident of finding a market, at these reduced prices, the company sent large cargoes to New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Boston. The inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, 'and they sailed up the Thames, to proclaim to all the nation, that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved.' The people of Charleston unloaded the tea, and stored it in cellars, where it perished.

The Boston people disposed of the article in a more summary way. Before the vessels arrived with it, a town meeting was held to devise measures for preventing the landing and sale of the tea. The agreement not to use it was renewed; and a committee was chosen to request the consignees not to unlade or sell it. They referred the matter to the merchants who were to take charge of it; but received for answer, that they could make no promises, because they had received no orders on the subject. When the tea arrived, another meeting was called, 'to make a united and successful resistance to this last and worst measure of the administration.' People came in from the adjoining towns in such numbers, that it was found necessary to adjourn the meeting from Fanueil Hall to a large church. Here it was voted to use all lawful means to prevent the landing of the tea, and to procure its return to England. After several days spent in negotiations, the consignees refusing to return it, and the governor to order a pass to be given for the vessels to sail, a number of men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, proceeded to the vessels lying at the wharf with the tea on board, raised the hatches, took out the chests, and after breaking them open, quietly emptied their whole contents into the dock. The number of men concerned in this business was about fifty; but for many years afterwards it was not known who they were. This was the most cool and determined defiance of the government which had yet been hazarded. The crisis which it tended to bring about appears to have been apprehended, and was deliberately met. Josiah Quincy jun., a leading statesman of the time, warned the citizens, in town meeting, 'that the spirit then displayed and the sentiments then avowed should be such as they should be ready to approve and maintain at any future day. For to retreat from the ground they should then take,

would bring disgrace on themselves, and ruin on the country.' He by no means overrated the importance of the position at that time assumed.

The intelligence of this proceeding excited a great sensation in England. It was communicated to parliament, in a message from the crown; and excited strong indignation against the colonies. Both houses expressed their approbation of the king's measures, and promised their support in maintaining his authority. A bill was brought in for discontinuing the lading and shipping of goods, wares and merchandise at Boston or the harbour thereof, and for the removal of the custom house, with its dependencies, to the town of Salem. This bill was to continue in force, not only until compensation should be made to the East India company for the damage sustained, but until the king should declare himself satisfied, as to the restoration of peace and good order in Boston. It passed almost without opposition.

This was followed by another bill, subverting the charter of Massachusetts, and vesting in the crown, the appointment of the counsellors, magistrates and other officers of the colony, to hold office during the king's pleasure.

Next, followed a bill for transporting persons accused of sedition, treason, &c., to some other colony or to England for trial. After this, came the 'Quebec Bill,' extending the territory of Canada so as to include Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan, and vesting the government of that province in a legislative council appointed by the crown.

The measures of hostility towards Massachusetts were intended to break the union of the colonies, and detach the others from her. But it had a directly opposite effect. The other colonies were unanimously determined not to desert their champion in the hour of peril; and the union was firmly cemented by the very measures intended to effect its dissolution.

When the intelligence of the Boston Port Bill reached that place, a town meeting was called, in which the unconquerable spirit of the inhabitants was clearly manifested. They passed resolutions expressing their opinion of the impolicy, injustice and inhumanity of the act, from which they appealed to God and to the world; and inviting the other colonies to join them in an agreement to stop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, until the act should be repealed.

The same spirit was manifested throughout the country. Addresses were sent to the Bostonians from every part of the country, expressing sympathy in their afflictions, exhorting them to persevere in their course, and assuring them, that they were regarded as suffering in the common cause. A day of fasting, prayer, and humiliation, was appointed in all the colonies, and a general congress of deputies from each was proposed. About the same time, General Gage arrived in Boston to assume the government of the province.

The general court, convened by the governor at Salem, appointed delegates for the congress; and the other colonies followed their example. The legislature of Massachusetts also passed resolutions, recommending to the people to renounce the consumption of tea and all kinds of British goods until the grievances of the colonies should be redressed. The governor, learning how the house was employed, sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly; but he was refused admittance, and read the order of dissolution aloud on the staircase. Next day the people of Salem sent an address to the governor, spurning the offers of advantages made to them at the expense of Boston.

Rough drafts of the law, subverting the charter of Massachusetts, were now received; and by way of reply the committee of correspondence in Boston framed an agreement, entitled 'a solemn league and covenant,' to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain and all consumption of its products, until the obnoxious laws should be repealed; and threatening to publish the names of all who refused to conform to this agreement.

General Gage issued a proclamation denouncing this act, and threatening punishment; but his threats were utterly disregarded.

On the 4th of September, 1774, the continental congress assembled at Philadelphia. Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was chosen president, and Charles Thompson secretary. It was then determined that each colony should have one vote; and that their proceedings, except such as they might determine to publish, should be kept secret.

Resolutions were passed approving the conduct of the people of Massachusetts in resisting the encroachments of arbitrary power, 'and trusting that the effect of the united efforts of North America in their behalf, will carry such conviction to the British nation, of the unwise, unjust, and ruin-

ous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men, and wiser measures.' Contributions from all the colonies, for supplying the necessities, and relieving the distresses of the Boston people, were also resolved on. Resolutions against the importation and use of British goods, and forbidding exports to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, were also passed, and notwithstanding their want of legal sanction, they were strictly obeyed by the people.

A Declaration of Rights was also voted, stating the precise ground taken by the colonies, in the contest; and asserting rights which had not been maintained at its commencement.

The congress also voted several addresses: one to the people of Great Britain; another to the inhabitants of Canada; and a third to the American people; and a petition to the king. The state papers, emanating from this congress, have been pronounced, by competent authority, to be masterpieces of political wisdom, dignity, and moral courage. The Earl of Chatham compared them with the celebrated writings of Greece and Rome of a similar character, and gave them the preference. They were read and admired in all parts of Europe; and enlisted the friends of liberty throughout the civilised world in the cause of American liberty.

In America they were received with more intense interest; and their immediate effect was to rouse every friend of the common cause to exertion. The whole country resounded with the din of martial preparation. Companies of volunteers were organised in every city and village. Munitions of war were treasured up and concealed from the eyes of the myrmidons of government; contributions of money, ammunition, and provisions, were cheerfully made, and persons of every age and rank were roused into the liveliest enthusiasm in the sacred cause of liberty.

When General Gage attempted to introduce the new system of government in Massachusetts, he found himself unable to effect his object. The new counsellors, appointed by the crown, were compelled to resign their offices, by threats of popular violence; and the judicial proceedings were prevented by the crowd of people, who filled the court-house and declared their determination to submit to none but the ancient laws and usages of the country.

Gage, upon this demonstration of popular feeling, raised fortifications on Boston Neck; and, seizing the ammunition and stores, contained in the provincial arsenal and magazines,

at Cambridge and Charlestown, conveyed them to Boston. The people were with difficulty restrained from attempting their recovery by force; and in New Hampshire and Rhode Island, the powder belonging to the government was seized by the people.

In the meantime, the parliament of Great Britain was apprised of the proceedings of the colonists; and severe censure was passed upon them in the king's speech and the addresses in answer to him. Lord Chatham, then in the decline of life, after demonstrating the impossibility of subjugating America, brought forward a bill for composing all difficulties and disputes, which was promptly and decisively rejected. A bill was then passed for restraining the trade and commerce of the New England provinces, and prohibiting them from carrying on the fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland. While this bill was pending, Lord North suddenly brought forward what he considered a conciliatory measure. It proposed, that parliament should forbear to tax any colony, which should tax itself in such a sum as would be perfectly satisfactory. Its obvious design to separate the colonies from each other, caused it to be received by them with universal scorn and derision.

When the bill restraining the trade of New England had passed, information was received, that the middle and southern colonies were supporting their northern friends in every measure of opposition. In consequence of this intelligence, the same restrictions were extended, by a second bill, to New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, South Carolina, and Delaware. New York and North Carolina escaped, on the ground of their supposed dissent from the opposition.

The reception of these laws in America seems to have convinced the people that there was no hope of redress by peaceful or constitutional measures. Their addresses, remonstrances, and petitions, had been treated with contempt; and when they had hoped for a considerate hearing of their defence, they had only received a fresh accumulation of wrongs and insults. All now looked forward to a fearful contest. The terrible calm, that precedes a storm, settled darkly over the continent, and thunders of vengeance muttered in the distance. The crisis was at hand.

CHAPTER XXIV.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

It seems to have been the determination of the people of New England, that whenever actual hostilities should commence, the royal party should be the aggressors. With their habitual reverence for law and justice, they resolved to place their adversaries in the wrong, and to keep the right on their own side. It was equally their determination to repel with firmness the first hostile attack which should be made. An occasion was soon furnished in which these principles of action were put to the test.

On the evening preceding the 19th of April, 1775, General Gage detached Lieutenant Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with 800 grenadiers and light infantry, to destroy some military stores which had been collected at Concord, about 18 miles from Boston. Information of this movement was sent into the country by Dr. Warren, and the whole surrounding country was soon in arms, and marching in small parties, towards the scene of action.

When the British troops reached Lexington, about 5 o'clock in the morning, a small body of militia was paraded in front of the meeting house. Major Pitcairn, who led the van, rode up, calling out 'Disperse, rebels, disperse.' His soldiers rushed forward with loud huzzas, and commenced a scattering fire. This was soon followed by a general discharge, which continued until the militia retreated. Eight men were killed and a considerable number wounded. The main body now proceeded to Concord and destroyed the stores.

The subsequent events of the day are thus described by Mr. Everett.

'On arriving at Concord, it was the first care of the British commander to cut off the approach of the Americans from the neighbouring towns, by destroying or occupying the bridges. A party was immediately sent to the south bridge, and tore it up. A force of six companies, under Captain Parsons and Lowrie, was sent to the north bridge. Three companies under Captain Lowrie was left to guard it, and three under Captain Parsons proceeded to Colonel Barrett's house, in search of

provincial stores. While they were engaged on that errand, the militia of Concord, joined by their brave brethren from the neighbouring towns, gathered on the hill opposite the north bridge, under the command of Colonel Robinson and Major Buttrick. The British companies at the bridge were now apparently bewildered with the perils of their situation, and began to tear up the planks of the bridge; not remembering that this would expose their own party then at Colonel Barrett's, to certain and entire destruction.

'The Americans, on the other hand, resolved to keep open the communication with the town, and perceiving the attempt, which was made to destroy the bridge, were immediately put in motion, with orders not to give the first fire. They draw near to the bridge, the Acton company in front, led on by the gallant Davis. Three alarm guns were fired into the water, by the British, without arresting the march of the citizens. The signal for a general discharge was then made;—a British soldier stepped from the ranks and fired at Major Buttrick. The ball passed between his arm and his side, and slightly wounded Mr. Luther Blanchard, who stood near him. A volley instantly followed, and Captain Davis was shot through the heart, gallantly marching at the head of the Acton militia against the choice troops of the British line. A private of his company, Mr. Hosmer of Acton, also fell at his side.

'A general action now ensued, which terminated in the retreat of the British party, after the loss of several killed and wounded, toward the centre of the town, followed by the brave band, who had driven them from their post. The advance party of British at Colonel Barrett's was thus left to its fate; and nothing would have been more easy than to effect its entire destruction. But the idea of a declared war had yet scarcely forced itself, with all its consequences, into the minds of our countrymen; and these advanced companies were allowed to return unmolested to the main band.

'It was now twelve hours since the first alarm had been given, the evening before, of the meditated expedition. The swift watches of that eventful night had scattered the tidings far and wide; and widely as they spread, the people rose in their strength. The genius of America, on this the morning of her emancipation, had sounded her horn over the plains and upon the mountains; and the indignant yeomanry of the land, armed with the weapons which had done service in their fathers' hands, poured to the spot where this new and strange

tragedy was acting. The old New England drums, that had beat at Louisburgh, at Quebec, at Martinique, at the Havannah, were now sounding on all the roads to Concord. There were officers in the British line, that knew the sound; they had heard it, in the deadly breach, beneath the black, deep-throated engines of the French and Spanish castles.

‘With the British it was a question no longer of protracted hostility, nor even of halting long enough to rest their exhausted troops, after a weary night’s march, and all the labour, confusion, and distress of the day’s efforts. Their dead were hastily buried in the public square; their wounded placed in the vehicles which the town afforded; and a flight commenced, to which the annals of British warfare will hardly afford a parallel.

‘On all the neighbouring hills were multitudes from the surrounding country, of the unarmed and infirm, of women and of children, who had fled from the terrors and the perils of the plunder and conflagration of their homes; or were collected, with fearful curiosity, to mark the progress of this storm of war. The panic fears of a calamitous flight, on the part of the British, transformed this inoffensive, timid throng into a threatening array of armed men; and there was too much reason for the misconception. Every height of ground, within reach of the line of march, was covered with the indignant avengers of their slaughtered brethren. The British light companies were sent out to great distances as flanking parties; but who was to flank the flankers? Every patch of trees, every rock, every stream of water, every building, every stone wall, was *lined* (I use the words of a British officer in the battle), was lined with an unintermitted fire.

‘Before the flying troops had reached Lexington, their rout was entire. An English historian says, the British soldiers were driven before the Americans like sheep, till, by a last desperate effort, the officers succeeded in forcing their way to the front, “when they presented their swords and bayonets against the breasts of their own men, and told them if they advanced they should die.” Upon this, they began to form, under what the same British officer pronounces “a very heavy fire,” which must soon have led to the destruction or capture of the whole corps.

‘At this critical moment, it pleased Providence that a reinforcement should arrive. Colonel Smith had sent back a messenger from Lexington to apprise General Gage of the

check he had there received, and of the alarm which was running through the country. Three regiments of infantry, and two divisions of marines, with two field-pieces, under the command of Brigadier General Lord Percy, were accordingly detached. They marched out of Boston, through Roxbury and Cambridge, and came up with the flying party in the hour of their extreme peril. While their field-pieces kept the Americans at bay, the reinforcement drew up in a hollow square, into which, says the British historian, they received the exhausted fugitives, "who lay down on the ground, with their tongues hanging from their mouths, like dogs after a chase."

'A half an hour was given to rest; the march was then resumed; and under cover of the field-pieces, every house in Lexington, and on the road downwards, was plundered and set on fire. Though the flames in most cases were speedily extinguished, several houses were destroyed. Notwithstanding the attention of a great part of the Americans was thus drawn off; and although the British force was now more than doubled, their retreat still wore the aspect of a flight. The Americans filled the heights that overhung the road, and at every defile the struggle was sharp and bloody. At West Cambridge, the gallant Warren, never distant when danger was to be braved, appeared in the field, and a musket ball soon cut off a lock of hair from his temple. General Heath was with him, nor does there appear till this moment to have been any effective command among the American forces.

'Below West Cambridge, the militia from Dorchester, Roxbury, and Brookline came up. The British field-pieces began to lose their terror. A sharp skirmish followed, and many fell on both sides. Indignation, and outraged humanity, struggled on the one hand, veteran discipline and desperation on the other; and the contest, in more than one instance, was man to man, and bayonet to bayonet.

'The British officers had been compelled to descend from their horses to escape the certain destruction which attended their exposed situation. The wounded, to the number of two hundred, now presented the most distressing and constantly increasing obstruction to the progress of the march. Near one hundred brave men had fallen in this disastrous flight; a considerable number had been made prisoners; a round or two of ammunition only remained; and, it was not

till late in the evening, nearly twenty-four hours from the time when the first detachment was put in motion, that the exhausted remnant reached the heights of Charlestown. The boats of the vessels of war were immediately employed to transport the wounded; the remaining British troops in Boston came over to Charlestown to protect their weary countrymen during the night, and, before the close of the next day, the royal army was formally besieged in Boston.'

This, the first battle of the revolution, was important, not only on account of its placing the parties in an attitude of open hostility, but also from its moral influence on the spirit and subsequent proceedings of the colonists. It fully demonstrated the efficiency of the provincial troops, when acting against regulars, and the fatal precision of their marksmen. It secured the position which they had been so anxious to take in the outset, as the party aggrieved and attacked, acting entirely on the defensive. They had been careful not to give the first fire at Concord, even after the affair at Lexington, so anxious were the leaders to cover their proceedings with the letter of the law. The provincial congress even took pains to send letters and depositions to their agents in England establishing this point.

Having thus entrenched their position with law and justice, the congress prepared to defend it with the whole available force of the country. They immediately passed resolutions for raising an army of 30,000 men in New England. A considerable part of these levies was soon added to the besieging army which surrounded Boston; and General Gage became seriously alarmed for the safety of his garrison.

Meantime a small force was raised in Connecticut, and marched to Castleton, where they were met by Colonels Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, with an additional force; and, under their command, proceeded towards the fortress of Ticonderoga. They reached Lake Champlain in the night of the 9th of May. With a detachment of 83 men, Allen and Arnold crossed the lake and succeeded in surprising and capturing the fort, without firing a gun. Colonel Warren was then sent off, with a small party, and took possession of Crown Point, which was garrisoned only by a sergeant and twelve men. At both these places a considerable amount of cannon and military stores was taken.

To gain possession of the lakes, it was now necessary to capture a sloop of war, lying at St. John's. This service was

effected by Arnold, who manned a schooner found in South Bay, surprised the sloop and gained possession of her without any difficulty.

When intelligence of these important acquisitions was received in congress, that body passed resolutions which were designed to show that the measure was one of self-defence, inasmuch as it had been intended by the British to make use of these posts in an invasion of the colonies, by regulars and Indians from Canada.

While these events were passing, Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston; and, soon after, General Gage sent forth a proclamation, declaring martial law to be in force; and offering pardon to all who would submit to the king, excepting Samuel Adams and John Hancock.

In Virginia, the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, seized some powder belonging to the colony, and conveyed it on board an armed vessel, lying in the harbour of Williamsburg. The irritation caused by this measure was so great, that the governor was soon compelled to retire and take refuge on board the *Fowely* man-of-war; and thus terminated for ever the royal government in that colony. A similar result took place in South Carolina, in consequence of the royal governor being detected in tampering with the Indians. In North Carolina also, the governor having made hostile preparations, was compelled to seek safety on board a sloop of war in Cape Fear river. The other colonies were thus rapidly assuming a position not less warlike than that of New England.

On the 10th of May, the continental congress assembled at Philadelphia. Addresses were voted to the inhabitants of Great Britain, to the people of Canada, and to the assembly of Jamaica; and a second petition to the king. Congress next voted that 20,000 men should be immediately equipped, and proceeded to organise the higher departments of the army. GEORGE WASHINGTON, then a delegate from Virginia, was unanimously chosen commander-in-chief; and accepted the appointment with his characteristic modesty and dignity. Bills of credit were issued for three millions of dollars, to defray the expenses of the war, and the UNITED COLONIES were pledged for their redemption.

On the 9th of June, congress having received a communication from the provincial convention of Massachusetts, complaining of the difficulties consequent upon their want of a regular government, recommended to the colony the orga-

nisation of a provisional government, to remain in force until a governor, of his majesty's appointment, should consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

Intelligence, respecting the movements of the British army in Boston, having led to the suspicion that General Gage designed to penetrate into the country, it was determined to fortify Dorchester Neck and Bunker's Hill. A detachment of 1000 men being ordered for the latter service, under the command of Colonel Prescott, by some mistake took possession of Breed's Hill, an eminence much nearer to Boston than to Bunker's, and completely commanding the town. Moving silently to this point, on the evening of the 16th of June, they reached it unobserved, and proceeded to throw up an intrenchment of eight rods square during the night. At break of day, their operations being discovered by the commander of the armed ship *Lively*, then lying in the harbour, a brisk cannonade from the ship was commenced. A battery of six guns was soon after opened upon them from Copp's Hill, in Boston, directly opposite Breed's. Undaunted by the constant shower of shot and bombs which was poured upon them, the provincial troops laboured indefatigably upon their works, until they had extended a breast-work from the east side of the redoubt to the bottom of the hill, towards Mystic river.

General Gage, deeming it absolutely necessary to dislodge the Americans from this commanding eminence, detached Major General Howe and Brigadier General Pigot, about noon, with ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, with a body of artillery, to perform that service. They landed at Morton's Point, but finding the Americans did not desert their intrenchments, as they had expected, they awaited the arrival of a reinforcement from Boston. Meantime the provincials also received a fresh accession of troops, under the command of Generals Warren and Pomeroy; and made a further addition to their forces by pulling up some post and rail fences, placing them in parallel lines, and filling up the intervening space with new-mown hay.

The British troops, being now reinforced, marched to the attack in two lines. It was commenced by a heavy discharge of field-pieces and howitzers, the troops advancing slowly, to allow time for the artillery to produce effect on the works. While they were advancing, orders were given to set fire to the village of Charlestown, which was soon

enveloped in flames. This added, in no small degree, to the terror and sublimity of the spectacle, which was contemplated by thousands of interested spectators, assembled on the surrounding heights and the roofs of buildings in Boston, awaiting in breathless expectation the issue of the contest.

The Americans permitted the enemy to approach within less than one hundred yards of their works, unmolested ; and then poured in upon them such a deadly fire of musketry, that the British line was broken, and driven towards the landing place in disorder. The exertions of the officers, in rallying the troops, were successful ; and they were again led on to the charge. But another equally destructive fire of the Americans proved as effectual as the first ; and the troops, a second time, retreated in confusion. General Clinton, now arriving from Boston, aided General Howe, and the other officers, in restoring order, and the troops were a third time reluctantly led on to the attack. But the powder of the Americans was now nearly exhausted ; and some of the British cannon had been brought into such a position as to rake the inside of the breast-work from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was redoubled ; and, by thus attacking it on three sides at once, the British finally succeeded in carrying the redoubt, at the point of the bayonet. The provincials, however, made an obstinate resistance, even after a retreat was ordered ; defending themselves with the butt-end of their muskets, and disputing the ground inch by inch.

When the redoubt on the hill was lost, the breast-work on the left, which had been defended with similar firmness against the light infantry, was also necessarily abandoned. The provincials now retreated over Charlestown Neck, with but trifling loss, although they were raked by the guns of the Glasgow man-of-war, and two floating batteries.

The British felt that this was a victory by no means to be boasted of. Their force was 3000 men ; and their killed and wounded amounted to 1054. The American force was but 1500, and they lost in killed and wounded, 453. Their chief regret was for the loss of General Warren, an ardent patriot, and highly popular officer, who fell in the engagement.

The British kept possession of Breed's Hill ; and, afterwards seized and fortified Bunker's ; which secured to them the peninsula of Charlestown ; but the provincials, by forti-

lying Prospect Hill, held their enemies as closely besieged as before.

The courage displayed in the battle of Breed's Hill, raised the spirits of the colonists, and made them ready to dare any dangers. They believed that intrepidity and dexterity in the use of fire arms, would supply their deficiency of discipline. But in this they were mistaken; and subsequent events convinced them of the error.

In July, General Washington took command of the troops intrenched round Boston, and proceeded to inspect and review them. He found the army, consisting of 14,000 men, animated with great zeal, and prepared to follow him in the most arduous undertakings; but he soon discovered that they were unacquainted with subordination, and strangers to military discipline. Their spirit and courage displayed itself in frequent skirmishes with the British, which were attended, however, with no important result. The Massachusetts troops elected their own officers, and regarded them nearly as equals; and the congressional and colonial authorities interfered with each other. The supply of arms and ammunition was scanty, the troops being without bayonets, and having but nine rounds a-piece of cartridges.

These difficulties were in a great measure overcome by the superior talents and perseverance of Washington. He formed the soldiers into brigades and accustomed them to obedience. He requested congress to appoint a commissary general, a quartermaster general, and a paymaster general; a number of men were instructed in the management of artillery; and the army was soon completely organised and fit for service.

The troops were now regularly encamped round Boston; and occupied a space of ground nearly twelve miles in length. The English had strong intrenchments on Bunker's Hill and Roxbury Neck; and were defended by floating batteries in the Mystic river, and a ship of war lying between Boston and Charlestown. The respective forces being thus disposed, the siege of Boston continued until the succeeding spring.

In consequence of orders from the British ministry to destroy the sea-ports of the rebellious colonies, four ships, under the command of Captain Mowatt, were despatched to Falmouth, (now Portland,) in Maine, in the month of October; and, after offering disgraceful terms of submission to the inhabitants, which of course were rejected, he commenced a bombardment and speedily reduced the town to ashes. This

unnecessary and cruel act of aggression, only served still further to exasperate the colonies against the mother country.

In March, 1776, General Washington determined on forcing the British to evacuate Boston. Having opened his batteries and commenced a brisk cannonade on the opposite side of the city, he succeeded in occupying the Dorchester Heights, on the evening of the 4th, and, throwing up a fortification before morning. General Howe, who had succeeded General Gage in the chief command, on discovering that this position was occupied, saw the necessity of dislodging the Americans or instantly abandoning the place. He prepared for a vigorous attack on the works, but was prevented from landing his forces, which had embarked in boats, by the occurrence of a tremendous storm. Nothing remained, therefore, but to evacuate the place.

The British were not annoyed in their retreat, as they might thus have been provoked to burn the town; a loss which it would have required years of profitable industry to repair. For this, and some other reasons, they were allowed to embark at their leisure, and to take with them as many of the adherents to the royal cause, with their effects, as chose to accompany them. On the 17th of March, their fleet sailed for Halifax. The American army, under Washington, hastened towards New York, whither they supposed the English were gone.

CHAPTER XXV.

EXPEDITION AGAINST CANADA.

DURING these transactions in New England, events of some importance took place in other parts of America. Congress had early directed its attention towards Canada, and endeavoured either to gain the co-operation, or secure the neutrality, of the inhabitants in its dispute with Britain. Addresses had been repeatedly sent to them in the French, as well as the English language, representing the tendency of the new measures of parliament, and these had not been without some effect. The Canadians generally were willing to remain neutral in the contest.

Congress believed them to be partial to their cause, and resolved to anticipate the British, by striking a decided blow in that quarter. In this purpose they were encouraged by the success of the expedition against Crown Point and Ticonderoga, as well as by the small number of troops then in Canada. They appointed General Schuyler commander of the expedition, with General Montgomery to act as second in command. Early in September, 1775, these officers with about 1000 men made an ineffectual attack on Fort St. John, situated on the river Sorel; but found it expedient to retire to Isle-aux-Noix, at the entrance of the lake, about twelve miles above the fort, and wait for an increase of their effective force.

Meanwhile General Schuyler being taken ill, and returning to Albany, the command devolved upon General Montgomery, who was instructed to prosecute the enterprise on receiving reinforcements. These reinforcements soon arrived; the attack on Fort St. John was renewed; and, after a vigorous defence, it surrendered, about the middle of November. The Americans found, in the fort, a considerable number of brass and iron cannon, howitzers, and mortars, a quantity of shot and small shells, about 800 stand of small arms, and some naval stores; but the powder and provisions were nearly exhausted.

During the siege of Fort St. John, Fort Chamblée had been taken, which furnished General Montgomery with a plentiful supply of provisions, of which his army stood much in need. General Carleton, on his way from Montreal, had been defeated and repulsed; and Colonel Ethan Allen, who had made an unauthorised and rash attack on Montreal, had been overcome, made prisoner, and sent in irons to England.

On the fall of Fort St. John, General Montgomery advanced against Montreal, which was not in a condition to resist him. Governor Carleton, fully sensible of his inability to defend the town, quitted it. Next day General Montgomery entered Montreal. He treated the inhabitants with great lenity, respecting their religion, property, and rights; and gained their good will by the affability of his manners, and the nobleness and generosity of his disposition.

A body of provincials, under Colonel Easton, had been despatched by Montgomery, and took post at the Mouth of the Sorel; and by means of an armed vessel and floating batteries, commanded the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The British force which had retreated down the river from Montreal, con-

sisting of 120 soldiers under General Prescott, and accompanied by Governor Carleton, seeing it impracticable to force a passage, surrendered by capitulation. About midnight, the day before the capitulation, Governor Carleton escaped down the river, passing through the American squadron in a boat with muffled oars, and reached Quebec in safety.

It was now the 19th of November, and the season was very unfavourable to military operations. General Montgomery, a young officer of superior talent and high spirit, found himself placed in extremely unpleasant circumstances. He was at the head of a body of armed men, by no means deficient in courage and patriotism, but totally unaccustomed to military subordination. The term of service, for which many of them had enlisted, was near an end; and, heartily weary of the hardships of the campaign, they were loudly demanding their discharge. Nothing but devotion to his country could have made the general continue the command. Hitherto his career had been marked with success; and he was ambitious of closing the campaign with some brilliant achievement, which should elevate the spirits of the Americans and humble the pride of the British ministry. With these views, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, he hastened towards Quebec, although he had found it necessary to weaken his army, which had never exceeded 2,000 men, by discharging many of those whose terms of service had expired.

About the middle of September, a detachment of 1,100 men under Colonel Arnold, had been sent from the vicinity of Boston, with orders to march across the country against Quebec, by a route which had never been explored, and was but little known. The party embarked at Newbury, steered for the Kennebec, and ascended that river, in order to reach Canada by penetrating the forests in the interior of Maine—a most difficult and hazardous attempt. Their progress was impeded by rapids and by an almost impassable wilderness; and they suffered incredible hardships through the severity of the weather and the want of provisions. They separated into several divisions; and the last, under Colonel Enos, finding itself unable to proceed, returned to the camp at Roxbury. But the other divisions, under Arnold, pressed forward, and triumphed over every obstacle. For a month they toiled through a rough and barren wilderness, without seeing a human habitation, or the face of an individual except of their own party; and their provisions were exhausted; so that

Arnold was obliged to push forward before the rest, with a few followers, and obtain a supply from the nearest Canadian settlement. At length on the 9th of November, the party, with its force much diminished, arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec.

His appearance, says an English writer, was not unexpected; for the lieutenant governor had been for some time apprised of his march. In the early part of his progress, Arnold had met an Indian, to whom, although a stranger, he had imprudently trusted a letter to General Schuyler, under cover to a friend in Quebec. The Indian, instead of faithfully delivering the letter, according to the directions which he had received, carried it to the lieutenant governor, who, in order to prevent the Americans from passing the river, immediately removed all the canoes from Point Levi, and began to put the city in a posture of defence; which, but for this folly and rashness of Arnold, might have been easily surprised.

On discovering the arrival of Arnold at Point Levi, the British commander stationed two vessels of war in the river, to guard the passage; and at that interesting crisis, Colonel M'Lean, who had retreated before Montgomery, arrived from the Sorel, with about one hundred and seventy newly raised troops to assist in defence of the place.

In spite of the vigilance of the British, Arnold succeeded on the night of the 14th of November, in crossing the river with five hundred men in canoes, and landed near the place where the brave and enterprising Wolfe had landed, sixteen years before, called, from this circumstance, Wolfe's Cove. Not being able to convey his scaling ladders over the river with his troops, he could not immediately attack the town. Instead of concealing himself, till his scaling ladders could be brought forward, and then making a sudden and unexpected attack by night, he marched part of his troops in military parade in sight of the garrison; and so put the British fully on their guard. He wished to summon them to surrender. But they fired upon his flag of truce, and refused to hold any communication with him. He therefore on the 19th of the month, retired from Quebec to Point aux Trembles, about twenty miles above the city, where general Montgomery, with the force under his command, joined him on the 1st of December. From him the soldiers of Arnold received a supply of winter clothing which their previous condition rendered particularly acceptable.

Soon after Arnold's retreat, Governor Carleton arrived in Quebec, and exerted himself to put the place in a state of defence.

General Montgomery, having brought the scaling ladders across the river, appeared with his whole force before Quebec on the 5th of December. The garrison was then more numerous than its assailants. The Americans amounted to but nine hundred effective men, while Governor Carleton had about fifteen hundred, soldiers, militia, seamen, and volunteers, under his command.

General Montgomery sent a flag of truce to summon the garrison to surrender; but it was fired upon, as that of Arnold had been; and although it was in the depth of a Canadian winter and in the most intense cold, he proceeded to the difficult task of erecting batteries; but his artillery was too light to make any impression on the fortifications. He therefore determined to storm the town; and the assault was made on the morning of the 31st of December.

About four o'clock in the morning, in the midst of a violent storm of snow, two feints and two real attacks were simultaneously made. The real attacks were conducted by Montgomery and Arnold. Montgomery advancing at the head of about two hundred men, fell by the first discharge of grape shot from the works. Several of his best officers being killed, his division retreated. Arnold, at the head of about three hundred men, in a different quarter, maintained a fierce and obstinate conflict for some time; but was at last wounded and repulsed, leaving many of his men in the hands of the enemy. The death of Montgomery was the subject of much regret, as he had been universally loved and esteemed. On assembling after the assault, so large a number had been killed or taken prisoners, that the provincials could not muster many more than four hundred effective men, who chose Arnold for their commander; and in the hope of receiving reinforcements, resolved to remain in the vicinity of Quebec.

Sir Guy Carleton acquired much honour, not only by his gallant defence of the city, but also, by the humanity with which he treated all his prisoners. The sick and wounded he caused to be taken care of, and permitted them, when recovered, to return to their homes unmolested. The Americans were not ignorant of their own inferiority in point of numbers to the garrison, and were not without apprehensions of being attacked; but although the garrison was three times more

numerous than the besieging army, it was of such a mixed and precarious character, that Carleton did not deem it prudent to march out against his enemy.

A small reinforcement, from Massachusetts, reached the American camp, and all the troops that could be spared from Montreal, marched to join their countrymen before Quebec; but the month of February was far advanced before the army amounted to 960 men. Arnold, however, resumed the siege; but his artillery was inadequate to the undertaking, and made no impression on the works. Although unsuccessful against the town, he defeated a body of Canadians, who advanced to relieve it; and succeeded so well in cutting off supplies from the country, that the garrison was reduced to great distress for want of provisions.

When the Americans entered the province, many of the inhabitants were well disposed towards them, as the friends and defenders of liberty. But by their subsequent behaviour they forfeited the good will, and provoked the hostility of the Canadians. They were wanting in respect to the clergy; compelled the people to furnish them with articles below the current prices; gave illegal and unsigned certificates for goods which they had received, which were consequently rejected by the quartermaster-general. They made promises, and did not perform them; and insulted the people when they demanded payment of their just debts. Such conduct, of course, alienated the affections of the Canadians, who considered congress as bankrupt, and their army as a band of plunderers.

On hearing of this scandalous misconduct, congress ordered justice to be done to the Canadians, and the strictest military discipline to be observed. But, in Canada, the tide of popular sentiment and feeling was turned against the Americans, who, by their unworthy practices, had awakened a spirit of hostility, which all the policy of Governor Carleton had been unable to excite.

While the American army lay before Quebec, the troops had caught the small-pox from a woman who had been a nurse in one of the hospitals of the city, and the loathsome disease spread rapidly among them. In order to mitigate the ravages of this destructive malady, many of the men, regardless of orders to the contrary, inoculated themselves. The reinforcements, which were daily arriving, had recourse to the same practice; and, so general was the infection, that, on the 1st of May, although the army amounted to 2,000 men, yet not

more than 900 were fit for duty. In this diseased state of the troops, medicines, and everything necessary for the sick, were wanting. The men were also scattered, for want of barracks.

Major-general Thomas, who had been appointed to the command of the American army in Canada, arrived in camp on the 1st of May. He found the troops enfeebled by disease, ill supplied with provisions, and with only a small quantity of ammunition. The river was opening below, and he was well aware, that, as soon as ships could force their way through the ice, the garrison would be reinforced. On the 5th of May, therefore, he resolved to retreat towards Montreal; and, on the evening of the same day, he received certain information that a British fleet was in the river. Next morning some of the ships, by great exertion, and with much danger, pressed through the ice, into the harbour, and landed some troops.

The Americans were preparing to retire; General Carleton marched out to attack them; but, instead of awaiting his approach, they made a precipitate retreat, leaving behind them their sick, baggage, artillery, and military stores. Many of those who were ill of the small-pox escaped from the hospitals, and concealed themselves in the country, where they were kindly entertained by the Canadians, till they recovered and were able to follow their countrymen. General Carleton could not overtake the retreating army; but he took about 100 sick prisoners, whom he treated with his characteristic humanity.

The Americans retreated about forty-five miles, and then halted a few days; but afterwards proceeded to Sorel, in a distressed condition, and encamped there. In this interval, some reinforcements arrived. General Thomas, being seized with the small-pox, died, and was succeeded in the command by General Sullivan.

The British had several military posts in Upper Canada; and the Americans established one at the Cedars, a point of land projecting into the St. Lawrence, about forty miles above Montreal. The garrison consisted of 400 men, under the command of Colonel Bedell. Captain Foster, with about 600 regulars and Indians, marched from Oswegatchie to attack this post. The American commander having received an intimation, that, if any of the Indians were killed, the garrison would probably be massacred, made but a short and feeble resistance before he surrendered the place.

An American party of about 100 men, under Major Sherburne, left Montreal to assist their countrymen at the Cedars. As they approached that place on the day after the surrender, ignorant of the event, they were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by a body of Indians and Canadians. After defending themselves for some time, the Americans were overpowered, and many of them fell under the tomahawks of the Indians. The rest were made prisoners.

Arnold, who in the month of January had been raised to the rank of brigadier-general, was desirous of recovering the Cedars and of relieving the prisoners there; and, for these purposes, marched towards that place at the head of about 800 men. But, on his approach, Captain Foster gave him notice, that unless he agreed to a cartel, which had already been signed by Major Sherburne and some other officers, the Indians would put all the prisoners to death. In these circumstances, Arnold reluctantly signed the cartel and retired. Congress long hesitated and delayed to sign this agreement.

Before the end of May, the British force in Canada was greatly increased; and including the German mercenaries, was estimated at 13,000 men. This force was widely dispersed; but Three Rivers, half way between Quebec and Montreal, was the general point of rendezvous. A considerable detachment, under General Frazer, had already arrived there. General Sullivan despatched General Thompson, with a party, to surprise them, but the enterprise failed. Thompson was made prisoner, and his detachment dispersed.

When the British sea and land forces had collected at Three Rivers, they advanced, by land and water, towards the Sorel, General Sullivan having retreated up that river; and General Burgoyne was ordered cautiously to pursue him. On the 15th of June, Arnold quitted Montreal and retired to Crown Point with little loss in the retreat. The American forces were thus completely withdrawn from Canada, and this bold and hazardous invasion was finally terminated. It had cost much suffering and many valuable lives; and produced no advantage to the American cause.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1776.

THE spring of 1776 opened with very little prospect of reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies. No answer was returned to the petition of congress to the king; but intelligence was received that the British had made treaties with the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and other petty German sovereignties, and hired from them about 17,000 mercenary troops, for the service of the crown in America. These troops known among the colonists by the general name of Hessians, were much dreaded, until after a few thousand of them had been killed or made prisoners. It was also understood, that, in addition to these men, 25,000 British soldiers would be sent over. A part of this force was said to be destined for Charleston, in South Carolina.

On the 2nd of June, 1776, the alarm guns were fired in the vicinity of Charleston, and expresses sent to the militia officers to hasten with their men to the defence of the capital. The order was promptly obeyed; and some continental regiments, from the neighbouring states, also arrived. The whole was under the direction of General Lee, who had been appointed commander of all the forces in the southern states, and had under his direction the continental generals, Armstrong and Howe.

Charleston was all alive with the bustle of warlike preparation. The citizens, abandoning their usual occupations, employed themselves in putting the town in a respectable state of defence. They pulled down the valuable store-houses on the wharfs, barricaded the streets, and constructed lines of defence along the shore. The troops, amounting to between 5 and 6,000 men, were stationed in the most advantageous positions. The second and third regular regiments of South Carolina, under Colonels Moultrie and Thompson, were posted on Sullivan's Island. A regiment, commanded by Colonel Gadsden, was stationed at Fort Johnson, about three miles below Charleston, on the most northerly point of James' Island, and within point-blank shot of the channel. The rest of the troops were posted at Haddrel's Point, along

the bay, near the town, and at such other places as were thought most proper. Amidst all this bustle and preparation, lead for bullets was extremely scarce, and the windows of Charleston were stripped of their weights, in order to procure a small supply of that necessary article.

While the Americans were thus busily employed, the British were not idle. About the middle of February, an armament had sailed from the Cove of Cork, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, and Earl Cornwallis, to encourage and support the loyalists in the southern provinces.

After a tedious voyage, the greater part of the fleet reached Cape Fear, in North Carolina, on the 3rd of May. General Clinton, who had left Boston in December, took command of the land forces, and issued a proclamation, promising pardon to all the inhabitants who would lay down their arms. But this offer produced no effect. Early in June, the armament, consisting of between 40 and 50 vessels, appeared off Charleston, and 36 of the transports passed the bar and anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. Some hundreds of the troops landed on Long Island, which lies on the west of Sullivan's Island, and which is separated from it by a narrow channel, often fordable.

On the 10th and 25th of June, two fifty gun ships passed the bar, and the British, having now about 10 ships of war ready for action, prepared to engage. The troops, amounting to 3,000, were under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, the naval force under the admiral, Sir Peter Parker.

On the forenoon of the 28th of June, this fleet advanced against the fort on Sullivan's Island, which was defended by Colonel Moultrie with 344 regular troops and some militia, who volunteered their services on the occasion. The battle commenced with a tremendous discharge of cannon and bombs upon the fort, which was returned slowly, but with deliberate and deadly aim. The contest was carried on during the whole day with unabating fury. All the forces at Charleston stood prepared for battle; and both the troops and the numerous spectators beheld the conflict with alternations of hope and fear, which appeared in their countenances and gestures. They knew not how soon the fort might be silenced or passed by, and an attack made upon themselves; but they were resolved to meet the invaders at the water's edge, to dispute every inch of ground, and to prefer death to slavery.

Three of the British ships were ordered to assail the western

extremity of the fort, which was in a very unsettled state ; but as they proceeded for that purpose, they got entangled with a shoal, called the Middle Ground, ran foul of each other ; and one of them remained aground ; so that this part of the attack completely failed in the outset.

It had been concerted that, during the attack by the ships, Sir Henry Clinton, with the troops, should pass the narrow channel which separates Long Island from Sullivan's Island, and assail the fort by land ; but this the general found impracticable ; the channel, usually fordable, having been recently deepened by a long prevalence of easterly winds. If Sir Henry had succeeded in passing the channel, he would have been met at the water's edge, by a strong detachment of riflemen, regulars, and militia, under Colonel Thompson, who were posted at the east end of Sullivan's Island, to oppose any attack made in that quarter.

In the course of the day, the fire of the fort ceased, for a short time, and the British flattered themselves that the guns were abandoned ; but the pause was occasioned solely by the want of powder, and when a supply was obtained, the cannonade recommenced as steadily as before. The engagement, which began about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, continued with unabated fury till 7 in the evening, when the fire slackened, and at about 9, entirely ceased on both sides.

During the night, all the ships, except the *Acteon*, which was aground, hauled off in rather a discomfited plight to the distance of two miles from the island. Next morning, the fort fired a few shots at the *Acteon*, and she at first returned them ; but in a short time her crew set her on fire and abandoned her. A party of Americans boarded the burning vessel, seized her colours, fired some of her guns at Admiral Parker, filled three boats with her sails and stores, and then quitted her. She blew up shortly afterwards. In a few days the whole fleet, with the troops on board, sailed for New York.

In this obstinate engagement the Americans fought with great gallantry, and the loss of the British was very severe. In the course of the engagement, the flag-staff of the fort was shot away ; but Sergeant Jasper leaped down upon the beach, snatched up the flag, fastened it to a sponge-staff, and while the ships were incessantly directing their broadsides upon the fort, he mounted the merlon and deliberately replaced the flag. Next day, President Rutledge presented him with a sword, as a testimony of respect for his distinguished valour.

Colonel Moultrie and the officers and troops on Sullivan's Island, received the thanks of their country for their bravery; and in honour of the gallant commander the Fort was named Fort Moultrie.

The failure of the attack on Charleston was of great importance to the American cause, and contributed much to the establishment of the popular government. The friends of congress triumphed; the diffident became bold; and many of the loyalists abandoned their party and attached themselves to the cause of American liberty. The brave defence of Fort Moultrie saved the southern states from the horrors of war for several years.

When the British fleet, under Sir Peter Parker, had first appeared in Charleston bay, the Cherokee Indians had treacherously invaded the western frontier of the province, marking their course, as usual, with murder and devastation. The speedy retreat of the British fleet left the savages exposed to the vengeance of the Americans, who, in separate divisions, entered their country at different points, from Virginia and Georgia, defeated their warriors, burned their villages, laid waste their corn-fields, and rendered the Cherokees incapable of giving annoyance to the settlers for some time to come. Thus, in the south, the Americans, at this time, triumphed over the arms both of the British and the Indians.

Intelligence of the rejection of their second petition, and of the cold indifference observed towards Mr. Penn, the provincial agent, by the British government, reached congress in November, 1775, and awakened a strong sensation throughout the provinces. It showed the colonists in what light their conduct was viewed by the British cabinet, and what they had to expect from the parent state. It was clear enough now that there was no medium between unconditional submission and absolute independence. The colonists saw that they must either abandon everything for which they had been hitherto contending, or assert their freedom by force of arms; and many of them were struck with the incongruity of professing allegiance to a power which their martial battalions were opposing in the field.

That men, who had always been accustomed to the rights of freedom and self-government, should descend from their exalted rank to the degradation of slavery—that they should abandon everything which they held dear, and become the crouching subjects of a suspected, despised, and oppressed

dependency of the British empire, was not to be expected. The colonists spurned the thought of such degradation. Entirely emancipated from the antiquated notions of prerogative, which guided the councils of the British cabinet, the provincial leaders took the most prompt and efficacious measures to give a new bias to the public mind, and to prepare the people for a new state of things. Independence, which, in the earlier stages of the contest, had been casually and obliquely hinted, was now made a topic of public discussion. At first it alarmed timid and moderate men, who had a glimpse of the calamitous scenes which such a course would open before them. But the partisans of independence were bold and indefatigable; they laboured incessantly in rendering the subject familiar to the popular ear and mind; the number of their adherents daily increased; and many, who had been hostile to a separation from Britain, became friendly to that measure, or ceased to oppose it. They justly thought circumstances so desperate, that matters could not be rendered worse by the attempt, and success might be beneficial.

At that time, Thomas Paine, an Englishman, who had recently arrived in America, published a pamphlet, under the title of 'Common Sense,' which had a prodigious influence in promoting the cause of independence; it was widely circulated and universally read. Although Paine was a man of no learning, and of very little knowledge, yet he had a shrewd understanding, and a confident and popular manner of writing, to which cause the extraordinary effect of his pamphlet on the public mind may be traced.

The subject having been discussed in a variety of ways in the different provinces; having, in several of them, met with more or less opposition; and many of the members of congress having received instructions on the point from their constituents, it was solemnly taken into consideration by that body, in the month of June, and discussed with closed doors, in a very animated manner. Among the advocates of the measure John Adams, of Massachusetts, was the most conspicuous; and among its zealous, but sincere and honourable opponents, was John Dickenson, of Pennsylvania. The debate was as animated and earnest as it was momentous. The friends of the measure, however, finally prevailed. The declaration of independence passed; and, on the FOURTH OF JULY, 1776, the members having

severally affixed their signatures to the document, it was publicly proclaimed to the people from the door of the state house, in Philadelphia, and received with shouts of gratulation, and the ringing of bells, and firing of cannon—tokens of rejoicing, which, according to the celebrated prediction of John Adams, have been annually repeated to the present day. The hall in which the continental congress was then assembled was thenceforward called Independence Hall; and the public square, in which Americans first assembled to hear the charter of their freedom read, still retains the name of Independence Square.

The conclusion of this celebrated state paper was in the following words—at once firm, temperate, and solemn:—

‘We, the representatives of the United States of America, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the people in these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.’

The Declaration of Independence was drawn up by Thomas Jefferson. ‘To say,’ says Mr. Webster, ‘that he performed his great work well, would be doing him injustice. To say that he did it excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title deed of their liberties was devolved on his hands.’

One point of objection, which has been urged against the declaration, is thus cleared up by Mr. Webster:—

‘With all its merits, there are those who have thought that there was one thing in the declaration to be regretted; and that is, the asperity and apparent anger with which it speaks of the person of the king; the industrious ability with which

it accumulates and charges upon him all the injuries which the colonies had suffered from the mother country. Possibly some degree of injustice, now or hereafter, at home or abroad, may be done to the character of Mr. Jefferson, if this part of the declaration be not placed in its proper light. Anger or resentment, certainly, much less personal reproach and invective, could not properly find place, in a composition of such high dignity, and of such lofty and permanent character. 'A single reflection on the original ground of dispute, between England and the colonies, is sufficient to remove any unfavourable impression in this respect.

'The inhabitants of all the colonies, while colonies, admitted themselves bound by their allegiance to the king; but they disclaimed altogether the authority of parliament; holding themselves, in this respect, to resemble the condition of Scotland and Ireland, before the respective unions of those kingdoms with England, when they acknowledged allegiance to the same king, but each had its separate legislature. The tie, therefore, which our revolution was to break, did not subsist between us and the British parliament, or between us and the British government, in the aggregate; but directly between us and the king himself. The colonies had never admitted themselves subject to parliament. That was precisely the point of the original controversy. They had uniformly denied that parliament had authority to make laws for them. There was, therefore, no subjection to parliament to be thrown off. But allegiance to the king did exist, and had been uniformly acknowledged; and down to 1775, the most solemn assurances had been given that it was not intended to break that allegiance, or to throw it off. Therefore, as the direct object, and only effect of the declaration, according to the principles on which the controversy had been maintained, on our part, was to sever the tie of allegiance which bound us to the king, it was properly and necessarily founded on acts of the crown itself, as its justifying causes. Parliament is not so much as mentioned, in the whole instrument. When odious and oppressive acts are referred to, it is done by charging the king with confederating with others, in pretended acts of legislation; the object being constantly to hold the king himself directly responsible for those measures which were the grounds of separation. Even the precedent of the English revolution was not overlooked, and in this case, as well as in that, occa-

sion was found to say that the king had *abdicated* the government. Consistency with the principles upon which resistance began, and with all the previous state papers issued by congress, required that the declaration should be bottomed on the misgovernment of the king; and, therefore, it was properly framed with that aim and to that end. The king was known, indeed, to have acted, as in other cases, by his ministers, and with his parliament; but as our ancestors had never admitted themselves subject either to ministers or to parliament, there were no reasons to be given for now refusing obedience to their authority. This clear and obvious necessity of founding the declaration on the misconduct of the king himself, gives to that instrument its personal application, and its character of direct and pointed accusation.'

It is worthy of remark, that the word tyrant applied to George III., in the declaration, has been fully justified by recent disclosures. Letters of the king have been lately published, which clearly prove that he himself was the most determined and inflexible supporter of the tyrannical measures directed against the liberties of the colonies. That the sudden, and otherwise unaccountable changes in the ministry, were all owing to his personal influence, and all directed to this point; and he declared to John Adams, the first ambassador from the United States to England, that he was the last man in his dominions to consent to the recognition of their independence. So true it is, that a mild personal character may be consistent with the sternest principles of political tyranny.

After the declaration of independence, the Americans had to contend with important difficulties in supporting their pretensions. The great contest was but just begun.

It has already been stated that, at the close of the siege of Boston, General Howe proceeded to Halifax, and General Washington towards New York, where he soon arrived with his army. In that city the British interest had been more powerful than in any other place in the provinces, and the struggle between the friends of British domination, and of American freedom, had been more doubtful than in any other quarter. But, by superior numbers, and more daring activity, the adherents of congress had gained the ascendancy. On his arrival in the city, Washington endeavoured to put it in a state of defence; and, as the British, by means of

their fleet, had the command of the waters, he attempted to obstruct the navigation of the East and North Rivers, by sinking vessels in the channels. He also raised fortifications at New York, and on Long Island; and made every preparation in his power for giving the British army a vigorous reception.

General Howe remained some time at Halifax; but, after the recovery of his troops from the fatigue and sickness occasioned by the siege of Boston, he embarked, sailed to the southward, and on the 2d of July, landed, without opposition, on Staten Island, which lies on the coast of New Jersey, and is separated from Long Island by a channel called the *Narrows*. His army consisted of 9000 men, and his brother, Lord Howe, commander of the British fleet, who had touched at Halifax, expecting to find him there, arrived soon afterwards, with a reinforcement of about 20,000 men from Britain. Thus, General Howe had the command of nearly 30,000 troops, for the purpose of subjugating the American colonies; a more formidable force than had ever before visited these shores. General Washington was ill prepared to meet such a powerful army. His force consisted of about 9000 men, many of whom were ill-armed, and about 2000 without any arms at all; but new levies were daily coming in.

Soon after his appearance off the coast, Lord Howe sent a letter to the American commander-in-chief, addressed to 'George Washington, Esq.;' but the general refused to open it, as the address was not in a style corresponding to the dignity of the situation which he held. Another letter was sent to 'George Washington, &c. &c. &c.,' but this also was refused. 'It did not acknowledge,' he said, 'the public character with which he was invested by the congress, and in no other character would he have any intercourse with his lordship.'

The communication, however, to which these letters gave rise, afforded the British an opportunity of exerting themselves in order to effect a reconciliation. With this view, the American general was informed, that Lord Howe was invested with full powers to receive the submission of the colonists, and to reinstate them in the favour of their lawful sovereign; but Washington declared, that these powers appeared to consist in nothing but granting pardons; and that as the provincials, in defending their rights, had been guilty of no crime, they required no forgiveness.

Both sides, therefore, prepared to terminate their disputes by an appeal to arms; and hostilities began as soon as the English troops were collected at their appointed stations. The character of the forces which were now about to engage was very different. The British troops were numerous, regularly disciplined, and accustomed to military operations; while the Americans were inferior in numbers, and inexperienced, newly embodied, and not well provided with artillery and ammunition.

Washington marked the condition of his army with very great concern. It amounted to less than 18,000 effective men; while that of the English was nearly 30,000 strong. As the American government had no established revenue, and as the sources of their commerce were completely dried up, the difficulties which the general had to encounter, were such as no human ability and perseverance could easily surmount. 'These things,' said he in a letter to congress, 'are melancholy, but they are nevertheless true. I hope for better. Under every disadvantage, my utmost exertions shall be employed to bring about the great end we have in view; and so far as I can judge from the professions and apparent disposition of my troops, I shall have their support. The superiority of the enemy, and the expected attack, do not seem to have depressed their spirits. These considerations lead me to think, that though the appeal to arms may not terminate so happily as I could wish, yet the enemy will not succeed in their views without considerable loss. Any advantage they may gain, I trust will cost them dear.'

Notwithstanding the difficulties which Washington had to encounter, he maintained his positions, and availed himself of every circumstance which might encourage his troops or improve their discipline. He animated them by his exhortations and example; he told them that the day was approaching which would decide whether the American people were to be freemen or slaves; and he informed them, that the happiness of myriads, yet unborn, depended on their courage and conduct. He promised rewards to those who should distinguish themselves by acts of extraordinary bravery, and threatened such as were doubtful or dilatory with the utmost severity of punishment, if they should desert the cause in which they were engaged. The time was at hand when the effect of these exhortations was to be ascertained.

In the month of August, 1776, the English made a descent upon Long Island, with 40 pieces of cannon, and under cover

of their ships. On a peninsula, formed by the East River and Gowanus Cove, and constituting a part of the same island, was General Putnam, strongly fortified, and awaiting, with his detachment, the approach of the king's troops. Between the armies was a range of hills, the principal pass through which was near a place called Flatbush. At this place, the Hessians, forming the centre of the royalists, took their station. The left wing, under the orders of General Grant, was close upon the shore, and the right, commanded by General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, and comprehending the chief strength of the British forces, approached the opposite coast of Flat Land. General Putnam had directed that all the passes should be secured by strong detachments of the provincial troops. The orders to this purpose, though not disobeyed, were not complied with to the extent that the general required; and one road through the hills, of the utmost importance, was entirely neglected—an oversight which was speedily communicated to the British, and which they were too wise not to improve to their advantage.

On the evening of the 26th, Generals Howe and Clinton drew off the right wing of the English army, in order to gain the heights. Nearly about day-break he reached the pass undiscovered by the Americans, and immediately took possession of it. The detachment under Lord Percy followed; and when the day appeared, the royalists advanced into the level country between the hills and Brooklyn, a village situated on the peninsula, where the Americans were encamped.

Without loss of time Howe and Clinton fell upon the rear of the provincials, and the Hessians attacking them in front, at the same instant, neither valour nor skill could save them from a defeat. Inspired, however, by their generals, and by the presence of Washington, they continued the engagement for a while, and fought with the bravery of men, whom the love of freedom animates to deeds of heroism; but pressed by superior numbers, and thrown into confusion, they gave way on every side, and fled precipitately to the woods.

Nor was this the only part of the army which suffered; the right wing, which opposed General Grant, experienced a similar fate. They fought bravely, and maintained their ground till informed of the defeat of the left wing, when they retreated in confusion; and, in order to avoid the enemy, who were far advanced on their rear, the greater part of them attempted to escape along the dike of a mill-dam, and through

a marsh, where many of them perished; but a remnant regained the camp. Of a regiment consisting of young gentlemen from Maryland, the greater part was cut in pieces, and not one of those who survived, escaped without a wound.

The British soldiers behaved with their usual courage, and it was with difficulty that they were restrained from instantly attacking the American camp; but General Howe, who always exercised a laudable care of the lives of his men, checked their impetuosity; believing that without any great loss, he could compel the Americans to surrender, or evacuate the camp.

On that disastrous day, the Americans lost 2,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; among the latter were Generals Sullivan, Woodhull, and Lord Stirling. They also lost 6 pieces of artillery. The acknowledged British loss was 21 officers, and 346 privates, killed, wounded, and taken.

A retreat from Long Island now became absolutely necessary; and it was effected on the 30th of August, without the loss of a man.

After the evacuation of Long Island by the Americans, proposals for an accommodation were made by Lord Howe. But as his lordship was not authorised to treat with congress as a legal assembly, he invited such of its members as were desirous of peace to a private conference. To this invitation the congress replied, that as they were the representatives of the free and independent states of America, it was not possible for them to send any of their number to confer with the English commanders, in their individual capacity, but that, as it was exceedingly to be wished, that an accommodation should take place, on reasonable terms, they would direct a committee to receive the proposals of the British government. Accordingly, they nominated for this purpose, Dr. Franklin, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, all zealous and faithful to the cause of liberty. But notwithstanding the disposition of Lord Howe, which was certainly towards peace, and the late misfortunes of the provincial troops, the conference was altogether ineffectual; his lordship would not acknowledge the deputies as the commissioners of a free people; and the deputies would not treat with him on any other condition. It was resolved, therefore, on both sides, to prosecute the war with all their vigour and their utmost resources.

This conference, although ineffectual with respect to the object immediately in view, was of considerable service to the

Americans. It arrested General Howe in the career of victory, and suspended, during its progress, the operations of the campaign. It afforded a pause to the dispirited Americans; and gave them time to rally their drooping spirits; a matter, in their circumstances, of no slight importance.

The provincial army, under the command of Washington, was now stationed in the vicinity of New York. They had erected many batteries near the place, and from these they kept up an incessant fire on the British ships. Between the armies lay the East River, which the royalists, for some days, had manifested a desire to cross. Accordingly, they landed on the opposite shore, at Kipp's Bay, nearly three miles distant from New York; and marching rapidly towards the city, they obliged the Americans to abandon their works and retreat. Leaving the town itself, and their baggage, provisions, and military stores, in possession of the British, the Americans withdrew to the northern part of the island, where the chief strength of their forces was collected. Here Washington determined to wait the approach of the king's troops; and in the meantime he used every method in his power to restore the courage of his soldiers, and elevate their fallen hopes. He had long ago formed that plan of operations which is usually successful against an invading army; though with the intention of deviating from it as circumstances might require. It was his design, at present, not to risk a general engagement, but to harass the English by continual skirmishes, by cutting off their supplies and exhausting their patience. The object of the British general was exactly the contrary of this; his safety, as well as his success, lay in bringing the Americans speedily to action, and in terminating the war, if possible, by a single blow.

The fortune of the royalists was now predominant. In almost every attack the superiority of regular discipline had been shown. Washington was forced to quit his strong position at King's Bridge, on New York Island, and saved his army by retiring towards the main land of Connecticut. He was followed by the English general as soon as the troops could be landed, and the proper reinforcements had arrived.

After some ineffectual skirmishing, both parties met at a place called the White Plains; the royalists began the assault, and made such an impression on the American lines, that Washington was compelled to retreat. He withdrew in good

order, and occupied an advantageous post behind the river Croton.

Howe, finding himself unable to bring on a general action, relinquished the pursuit, and employed his troops in reducing and taking possession of Forts Washington and Lee, the first on the island of New York, not far from King's Bridge; and the other on the Jersey side of North River, nearly opposite the former. This he accomplished in November; and the Americans were thus driven, with considerable loss, from New York island, and from the Jersey bank of the North River.

On the fall of Forts Washington and Lee, General Washington with his little army consisting of about 3,000 men, ill armed, worse clad, and almost without tents, blankets, or utensils for cooking their provisions, commenced a disastrous retreat through the Jerseys. He first retired behind the Hackensack; thence to Newark, and thence to Brunswick. While there, the term of service of many of his troops expired, and he had the mortification to see them abandon him. From Brunswick he retreated to Trenton, and there received a reinforcement of about 2,000 men from Pennsylvania. He now collected and guarded all the boats on the Delaware, and sent his sick and wounded, and his heavy artillery and baggage across the Delaware. After remaining at Trenton some time, and even advancing towards Princeton, he learned that Earl Cornwallis, strongly reinforced, was marching against him; and on the 8th of December, he passed the Delaware at Trenton ferry, the van of the British army appearing, just as his rear-guard had crossed.

While retreating through the Jerseys, Washington had earnestly desired General Lee, who had been left in command of the division of the army at North Castle, to hasten his march to the Delaware and join the main army. But for reasons of his own, Lee was in no haste to obey, and by his carelessness in getting separated from the main body of his troops he was actually made prisoner, and put in close confinement by the English. General Sullivan, who succeeded in the command, immediately joined Washington, and thus increased his force to nearly 7,000. Still his men were daily leaving him, and of those who remained, the greater part were raw troops, ill provided, and all of them dispirited by defeat.

General Howe, with an army of 27,000 men, completely armed, and disciplined, well provided, and flushed with success, lay on the opposite side of the Delaware, stretching his

encampments from Brunswick to the neighbourhood of Philadelphia, and was expected to cross as soon as the river should be frozen over.

To the Americans this was the most gloomy period of the contest; and their affairs appeared in a very hopeless condition. To deepen the gloom of this period, so alarming to all true patriots, an expedition, under Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, was sent to Rhode Island and took possession of it, without resistance, on the very day that Washington crossed the Delaware.

On the 12th of December congress quitted Philadelphia, and retired to Baltimore. On the 20th they conferred on General Washington full and ample power to raise forces and appoint officers; to apply to any of the states for the aid of their militia; to form magazines of provisions at his pleasure; to displace all officers under the rank of brigadier general, and fill the vacancies thus created by officers of his own choice; to take for the use of the army whatever he might want, if the inhabitants would not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; and to arrest and confine all persons who should refuse to take the continental currency. These powers, which have been truly denominated dictatorial, were vested in the commander-in-chief for six months, unless sooner determined by congress.

The conferring of such ample powers on Washington is at once an evidence of the desperate condition of public affairs at this time, and of the perfect confidence reposed in him by his countrymen.

Howe, who was well aware of the dispirited state of the colonists generally, now put forth a proclamation offering pardons to all who would desert the American cause. Many men of property, who were desirous of saving it from confiscation, embraced the offer; and a few timid spirits among other classes of society followed their example; among the rest, to their eternal disgrace, two who had been members of congress, Galloway and Allen.

Still, in this alarming posture of affairs, when an enemy near 30,000 strong, was separated only by a river, expected every day to freeze, from the main army of the republic consisting of about one-fifth of that number, the American leaders maintained an erect posture, and their noble commander-in-chief dared to meditate an assault on the lately victorious British.

He perceived the security of Howe, and the advantage which the scattered cantonment of his troops presented to the American arms. 'Now,' exclaimed he, on being informed of the widely dispersed state of the British troops, 'now is the time to clip their wings, when they are so spread;' and, accordingly resolving to give them an unexpected blow, he planned an attack on the Hessians at Trenton.

On the evening of the 25th of December, he crossed the Delaware, marched all night, attacked the Hessians, who had not the slightest intelligence of his approach, and routed them with great slaughter. Colonel Rawle, who commanded the royalists in that quarter, did everything which could be expected from a brave and experienced officer; but the attack was sudden and impetuous; and it was directed by Washington himself. The Hessians gave way on all sides; their artillery was seized, and 1,000 of their best troops remained prisoners of war. Washington re-crossed to his camp with the loss of but nine of his men.

Some of the colonial reinforcements having now arrived, the provincial army was not only increased in numbers, but improved in courage and zeal. Emboldened by his success, Washington resolved to leave Philadelphia, and to make another attempt against the British forces. At the beginning of the year he again crossed the Delaware, and marched to Trenton.

An alarm had already been spread through the British army by the late success and increased force of Washington's army. A strong detachment, under General Grant, marched to Princeton; and Earl Cornwallis, who was on the point of sailing for England, was ordered to leave New York, and resume his command in the Jerseys.

On joining General Grant, Lord Cornwallis immediately marched against Trenton, where Washington was encamped at the head of about 5,000 men. On his approach, Washington crossed a rivulet, named the Asumpinck, and took post on some high ground, with the rivulet in his front. On the advance of the British army, on the afternoon of the 2nd of January, 1777, a smart cannonade ensued, and continued till night, Lord Cornwallis intending to renew the attack next morning; but, soon after midnight, General Washington silently decamped, leaving his fires burning, his sentinels advanced, and small parties to guard the fords of the rivulet, and, by a circuitous route through Allentown, proceeded towards Princeton.

About half-way between Trenton and Princeton, the Americans encountered three regiments, under Colonel Mawhood, who were advancing to join Cornwallis. A battle ensued, in which the British were worsted, and most of them compelled to retreat towards Brunswick. Washington pressed on towards Princeton, where one regiment had been left, and succeeded in taking 300 of them prisoners. The rest escaped by a precipitate flight. The British lost about 100 men in this affair; the Americans less. But they had to regret the loss of one of their bravest and most valuable officers, General Mercer. In this action, James Monroe, who subsequently became president of the republic, was wounded.

Washington was still pressed by Cornwallis with a vastly superior force. He retreated towards Morristown, and on crossing Millstone river, broke down the bridge at Kingston, to impede the progress of the British; and there the pursuit ended.

Both armies were completely worn out, the one being as unable to pursue as the other was to retreat. Washington took a position at Morristown, and Lord Cornwallis reached Brunswick, where all was alarm and confusion, in consequence of the battle of Princeton, and the expected approach of the Americans.

At Morristown, Washington now fixed his head quarters. This place is situated among hills of difficult access, with a fine country in the rear, from which he could easily draw supplies; and he might retire across the Delaware, if necessary. Giving his troops little repose, he overran both East and West Jersey, and even made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island. With a greatly inferior army, by judicious movements, he wrested from the British almost all their conquests in the Jerseys. Brunswick and Amboy were the only posts which remained in their hands, and even in these, they were not a little harassed and straitened. The American detachments were in a state of unwearied activity, frequently surprising and cutting off the British advanced guards, keeping them in continual alarm and melting down their numbers by a desultory and indecisive warfare. It was by the operations of this campaign that Washington gained for himself among European tacticians the name of the American Fabius. By judiciously delaying the decisive action, he conquered a greatly superior force of the enemy.

Thus terminated the campaign of 1776, not altogether un-

fourably to the American interest. The whole country south of the Jerseys was entirely freed from the British troops. Rhode Island indeed was wholly in their possession; and so was the city of New York; and while they kept their position in the latter place, they were so nearly in a state of siege, that their situation was scarcely more comfortable than that of General Gage and his army in Boston during the preceding winter.

Meantime, the people throughout the colonies who had watched, with breathless and terrible anticipation, the unfortunate retreat of Washington through the Jerseys, and his late critical situation at Philadelphia, were now inspirited by the news of his brilliant successes at Trenton and Princeton, and his subsequent expulsion of the enemy from all their important posts in the Jerseys.

CHAPTER XXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

WHILE General Washington was actively employed in the Jerseys in asserting the independence of America, congress could not afford him much assistance; but that body was not backward in promoting the same cause by its enactments and recommendations. Hitherto the colonies had been united by no bond but that of their common danger and common love of liberty. Congress resolved to render the terms of their union more definite, to ascertain the rights and duties of the several colonies, and their mutual obligations towards each other. A committee was appointed to sketch the principles of the union or confederation.

This committee presented a report in thirteen *Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union* between the States, and proposed that, instead of calling themselves the UNITED COLONIES, they should assume the name of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; that each state should retain its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right which was not by the confederation expressly delegated to the United States in congress assembled, and that they should enter into a firm league for mutual defence. The articles also defined the rights of the several states, and of

their citizens; the powers of congress; and the mode of raising money from the respective states for the purposes of general government and defence.

These articles of confederation were adopted after much discussion, and transmitted to the several state legislatures; and, meeting their approbation, were ratified by all the delegates on the 15th of November, 1777. They remained in force, as the constitution of the country, until the adoption of the Federal Constitution, in 1788.

The only provision which congress could at present make for the support of the army was by the emission of bills of credit to pass at their nominal value in all payments and dealings throughout the states. This soon became depreciated, and the attempts to sustain it, by fixing the prices of commodities, were abortive, and introduced confusion and misery, involving many families in ruin. It was a serious but unavoidable hindrance to all their subsequent operations during the war.

In consequence of the hostilities with the colonies, the British West India Islands experienced a severe scarcity of provisions. When the fleet was about to return to England, an insurrection of the negroes of Jamaica was threatened. The military force of the island had been weakened by draughts to complete the army on the continent; and the ships of war were detained to assist in suppressing the disturbances of the negroes. By this delay the Americans gained time for equipping privateers, who succeeded in capturing many richly laden ships; and were permitted to sell their prizes in the ports of France, both in Europe and the West Indies.

The British cabinet remonstrated against this unfriendly conduct of France; but soon became satisfied that both France and Spain were in a state of active preparation for war. Parliament met on the 31st of October, and, notwithstanding attempts were made for adopting conciliatory measures, it was resolved to support the ministry in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Congress was not less determined to maintain the independence of the United States at all hazards. Aware of the covert hostility of France towards Great Britain, they had already sent commissioners to Paris, for the purpose of soliciting a loan of money, a supply of munitions of war and an acknowledgment of the independence of the states. These

commissioners were Dr. Franklin, Arthur Lee, and Silas Deane. Franklin was already known to the French as a philosopher and statesman: and he became very popular in the capital. The commissioners, however, were not yet successful in all their designs. Some arms were obtained privately, and the sale of prizes taken by the American privateers, in French ports, was still connived at; but no public recognition of independence nor open support of the cause could be obtained.

It was at this period that the Marquis de la Fayette, a young French nobleman of the highest rank and an immense fortune, resolved to devote himself to the cause of American liberty. Undismayed by the intelligence just received of the evacuation of New York, the loss of Fort Washington, the calamitous retreat through the Jerseys, and the other disasters of the campaign of 1776, he presented himself to the commissioners, and offered his services as a volunteer. They were so candid as to say that they could not in conscience urge him to proceed; and assured him that they possessed not the means nor the credit for procuring a vessel for his passage: 'Then,' exclaimed the gallant and generous youth, 'I will provide my own;' and it is a literal fact, that when our beloved country was too poor to offer him so much as a passage to her shores, he left in his tender youth the bosom of home, of happiness, of wealth, and of rank, to plunge in the dust and blood of our inauspicious struggle.

He arrived in the spring of 1777; and was cordially received by Washington, and appointed by congress a major-general in the army. His example was followed by many other French officers; and he was afterwards mainly instrumental in securing the friendship and alliance of the French government.

During the disastrous campaign of 1776, a large number of American prisoners were taken and conveyed to New York, where they were confined in the most horrible of all dungeons, the British prison ships. There they endured sufferings, which have seldom known a parallel in the annals of cruelty. But they bore all with the patience of martyrs, and the courage of patriots. When offered liberty and promotion, if they would join the royal party, they spurned the offer with contempt; and hundreds of them expired in captivity, rather than desert the cause to which they had devoted themselves.

The campaign of 1777 opened on both sides with a series of rapid incursions and bold predatory attacks. On the 23rd of March, General Howe detached Colonel Bird with about 500 men, under convoy of a frigate and some other armed vessels, to attack the Americans at Peekskill, on the North river, about 50 miles above New York. General M'Dougall, who was posted there with about 250 men, hearing of his approach, set fire to the stores and buildings, and retreated. Colonel Bird landed, and after completing the destruction of the stores, re-embarked and returned to New York.

On the 13th of April, Lord Cornwallis and General Grant, with 2,000 men, attempted to surprise and cut off General Lincoln, who with 500 men was posted at Bound Brook, seven miles from Brunswick. But by a bold and rapid movement, Lincoln, when almost surrounded, forced his way between the British columns, and escaped with the loss of 60 men, three field-pieces, and some baggage.

On the 25th of April, General Tryon left New York with 2,000 men and a proper naval escort, landed on the Connecticut shore, between Fairfield and Norwalk, and marched to Danbury, where he succeeded in destroying a large quantity of provisions and tents, belonging to the American army, and but weakly guarded. On his return, however, he was attacked by Generals Sullivan, Arnold, and Wooster, with about 500 troops, and 200 militia, and did not effect his retreat without a loss of about 400 men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Wooster was killed in the early part of this affair. He was an able officer, and his loss was much lamented by the Americans.

These attacks of the British were retaliated by Generals Stevens and Parsons. The former of whom assailed the royalists at Piscataway, and was only repulsed after a furious engagement, and a heavy loss on the side of the enemy. The latter detached Colonel Meigs, from Guilford to Sag Harbour on Long Island, where he succeeded in burning a large quantity of stores belonging to the British, and 12 of their vessels. In this affair the enemy lost 96 men, of whom six were killed, and the remainder made prisoners. The Americans returned without the loss of a man to Guilford.

Another exploit of the Americans deserves notice in this place, although it did not happen till the 10th of July.

Colonel Barton, with 40 men, officers and volunteers, passed over, by night, from Warwick Neck to Rhode Island, and succeeded in surprising the British general, Prescott, in his quarters, in bed, and, without giving him time to dress himself, hurried him on board, with one of his aides-de-camp, and conveyed him safely to Providence. This event was very mortifying to General Prescott, and to the royal army; but occasioned much exultation among the Americans. Hitherto General Howe had absolutely refused to release General Lee; but he soon agreed to exchange him for General Prescott; and General Lee again joined the American army.

Having noticed these desultory enterprises, we now turn to the two main armies under their respective commanders-in-chief.

In the beginning of June, General Howe, having received reinforcements from England, left New York, and passed into the Jerseys with 30,000 men. General Washington, to resist this powerful army, could muster no more than 7,300 men fit for duty. He occupied a good position at Middlebrook, about nine miles from Brunswick, where Howe assembled his army on the 9th of June. He marched towards the Delaware, in order to draw Washington from his strong position; but not succeeding in this, he returned to Brunswick, committing terrible devastations in his march. On the 22d of June, he retreated to Amboy, an American detachment, under General Greene, hanging upon his rear and frequently attacking it. General Washington, advanced to Quibbletown, that he might still be near the British army.

Howe, finding it impossible to bring Washington, with his greatly inferior force, to a pitched battle, sent off his baggage to Staten Island; and ordered a part of his troops to follow; but learning that Washington had left his strong ground, and was advancing in pursuit of him, he suddenly recalled his troops from Staten Island, and advanced from Amboy with his whole army, in hopes to accomplish his great object. Cornwallis being sent out with a strong detachment on the 26th of June, fell in with a numerous body of the Americans, under Lord Stirling and General Maxwell. After a smart engagement, the Americans retired, with some loss; and General Washington, apprised of the unexpected movement of the British army, returned towards the mountains, and

regained the passes which it was the intention of Cornwallis to seize.

Finding himself thus baffled, General Howe, on the 30th of June, crossed to Staten Island; and on the 5th of July embarked his army, to the number of 16,000, on board of transports, in order to sail to the southward. The remainder of the army was left with Sir Henry Clinton to defend New York. The fleet did not leave Sandy Hook till the 25th of July.

Howe's original intention was to sail up the Delaware to Philadelphia, but learning that the Americans had obstructed the navigation of that river, he entered Chesapeake bay and landed at the head of Elk river.

Anxious to prevent his approach to Philadelphia, Washington marched to meet him. Howe was not ready to leave the head of the Elk river before the 3d of September. On his advance, Washington retired across the Brandywine creek, and took post with his main body at Chadd's Ford, sending out General Maxwell with 1,000 light troops, to skirmish with the British and retard their progress.

On the 11th of September, the British army advanced, crossed the Brandywine at different points, and attacked the main army of the Americans, who sustained the assault with intrepidity for some time, but at length gave way. General Washington effected a retreat with his artillery and baggage to Chester, where he halted, within eight miles of the British army, till the next morning, when he retreated to Philadelphia.

The battle of the Brandywine was the first in which La Fayette drew his sword in the American cause. He received a wound in the leg, but kept his position, and continued to cheer and encourage the troops to the end of the engagement. Several other French officers were engaged in this battle, as well as Count Pulaski, a Polish nobleman, who had also accepted a commission in the American army.

Washington remained in Philadelphia two days, collecting his scattered troops and replacing his stores; and then proceeded towards Lancaster.

Congress left Philadelphia on the 18th of September, and proceeded to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown. On the 23rd, General Howe encamped with the main body of his army at Germantown, seven miles from Philadelphia; and on the 26th, with a detachment of his troops, he took peaceable possession of the city.

The British now employed themselves in endeavouring to clear the Delaware of the chevaux-de-frise of timber and iron spikes which had been run across it, below the city, and were guarded by fortifications on the banks and islands of the river, and by floating batteries.

While they were thus employed, Washington, with his army reinforced to 8,000 continental troops and 3,000 militia, lay encamped at Shippack creek, on the Schuylkill, about 20 miles from Philadelphia. Taking advantage of the diversion occasioned by Howe's operations on the river, he determined to attempt a surprise of the British camp at Germantown. With about 2,500 men, he left Shippack creek on the evening of the 3rd October, and at dawn, next morning, attacked the royal army. After a smart conflict, he drove in the advanced guard, and marched on towards the main body. But five companies of the British having thrown themselves into a large stone house belonging to Mr. Chew, nearly half the American army was occupied for some time in attempting to dislodge them. This circumstance disconcerted the original plan of Washington; and a thick fog which prevailed during the engagement, gave a character of confusion to all the operations of the day, which renders it difficult to understand or describe them. The Americans, however, were foiled in their attempt to surprise the British camp, although the fog covered their retreat, and they were able to retire in tolerable order. The Americans lost 900 men in this engagement, of whom 200 were killed and 400 were taken prisoners. The British acknowledged a loss of 600, killed and wounded.

They now proceeded to attempt the opening of the Delaware to their fleet, which was waiting to proceed to Philadelphia. The upper line of chevaux-de-frise was protected by a work named Fort Mifflin, erected on Mud Island, and by a redoubt called Redbank, on the Jersey side.

Having withdrawn his army from Germantown and encamped in the vicinity of Philadelphia, Howe despatched Count Donop, a German officer, with three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, the regiment of Mirbach, and some light infantry, to reduce Redbank. They reached the fort on the 21st of October, and Count Donop summoned the garrison to surrender, but Colonel Christopher Greene, of Rhode Island, who commanded the Americans, answered that he would defend his fort to the last extremity. An

assault was immediately commenced, and after a desperate conflict, in which Count Donop was mortally wounded, the enemy was compelled to retire, with a severe loss. Count Donop was made prisoner, and soon died of his wounds. The ships which were to co-operate in the attack were some of them grounded; and one was burnt by the Americans.

The British afterwards sent a very heavy sea and land force against the little garrison of 300 men, at Fort Mifflin, which protected the second line of *chevaux-de-frise*, and after a terrible cannonade, which was smartly returned, they succeeded in beating down the walls of the fort, and dismounting its guns. The garrison then retired, by means of their shipping. Two days afterwards, the post at Redbank, being no longer tenable, was evacuated also. A free passage for the British fleet to Philadelphia was thus secured, although at the cost of great exertion and many lives, on the part of the enemy.

No other important military transactions took place in this quarter, until Washington retired to winter quarters, at Valley Forge, about 26 miles from Philadelphia. The two armies at that time numbered about 14,000 each. Washington, during the early part of the campaign, owing to his want of force, had been obliged to occupy strong positions and be wary in all his movements. He had suffered defeat at Brandywine, and repulse at Germantown, but he had conducted his operations so well, that Howe had gained nothing by the campaign but good winter quarters in Philadelphia.

While the events just related were passing in the middle states, most important transactions were going on in the north, to which we shall now turn our attention.

The British ministry had resolved to prosecute the war vigorously on the northern frontier of the United States, and appointed General Burgoyne, who had served under General Carlton in the preceding campaign, to the command of the royal army in that quarter. General Burgoyne had visited England during the winter, concerted with the ministry a plan of the campaign, and given an estimate of the force necessary for its execution. Besides a fine train of artillery, and a suitable body of artillerymen, an army, consisting of more than 7,000 veteran troops, excellently equipped, and in a high state of discipline, was put under his command. In addition to this regular force, he had a great number of Canadians and savages.

This force was destined to invade the United States by the way of Lake Champlain and the Hudson, unite with the British army then at New York, and thus cut off all communication between the northern states and those lying south of the Hudson. New England was then to be overrun and reduced to obedience, as a preparation for the complete subjugation of the southern country.

The first attempts of Burgoyne were as successful as the condition of his army entitled the ministry to expect. The Indians, gained by presents, or stimulated by the hopes of plunder, joined him in considerable numbers. Burgoyne, to quiet his conscience, rendered somewhat uneasy by the employment of such auxiliaries, exhorted them to kill none but such as appeared in arms against them, and to spare the women and children whom the fortune of war might put into their hands. The Indians promised compliance with this injunction, but paid not the slightest regard to it afterwards.

On the 2nd of July the English army encamped on both sides of the narrow channel which connects Lake Champlain and George, with a naval force on the water, near Ticonderoga. To this strong fortress the Americans had retired at the end of the preceding year; and now it was garrisoned with about 6,000 men, under General St. Clair.

The approaches of the British were rapid and decisive. Soon after their appearance before the American works, they took possession of Sugar-hill; an eminence which overlooked the fortifications, and enabled them to place their batteries to great advantage, but which the Americans had supposed it was impossible to ascend. On the 5th, every step had been taken to render the investment complete.

St. Clair, however, conscious of his inability to defend the place, and anxious at the same time to avoid the necessity of surrendering his troops prisoners of war, abandoned the works, when he was nearly surrounded, and retreated over Mount Independence to Castleton, and thence to Skeensborough, in the vicinity of Lake George. Previous to his departure, he had ordered the baggage and military stores to be sent by water to the same place; but the vessels which were employed for that purpose, were attacked by the English ships, and either destroyed or rendered unfit for service; and in consequence of this disaster, the Americans set fire to their boats and fortifications at Skeensborough, and retreated towards Fort Ann. On land, the royalists

were not less successful. Colonel Francis, and a body of provincial troops, were defeated with great slaughter by General Reidesel; and by the skilful manœuvring of Burgoyne, St. Clair was prevented from reaching Fort Ann. An engagement then took place in the woods, in which the Americans were defeated, and compelled to retire to Fort Edward, on the Hudson, where St. Clair joined General Schuyler on the 12th of July.

The loss of Ticonderoga was one for which the United States were not prepared. Neither the strength of the invading army, nor the weakness of the garrison, appears to have been understood. It was universally believed that the whole force of Canada did not exceed 6,000 men; and therefore no adequate measures were taken to enable St. Clair to maintain his position. Washington complained of this indistinct information and its fatal consequences in a letter addressed to General Schuyler, the commander of the northern army, and at the same time expressed a hope that the confidence, which Burgoyne derived from success, would hurry him into measures, which in their consequences might be favourable to the Americans. In this expectation he was not disappointed.

The army of General Schuyler did not exceed 4,400 men. With that force he could not face the British army; and in order to gain time, he sent detachments of his men, who broke down the bridges; cut down trees so as to fall across the roads, and intermingled their branches, and threw every possible obstacle in the way of Burgoyne's advance. He also solicited reinforcements of regular troops; called on the militia of New England to join the regular army, and used all his personal influence in the surrounding country, to inspire the people with military ardour and patriotic enthusiasm. The militia of New England were not willing to serve under General Schuyler; and General Lincoln was appointed to raise and command them. Arnold was directed to join the northern army; Colonel Morgan and his riflemen were also attached to it; and tents, artillery, and other munitions of war, were diligently provided.

Meantime Burgoyne, who had been obliged to halt at Skeensborough, to rest his troops and bring forward his artillery, baggage, and military stores, was commencing his march towards the Hudson, greatly elated with his past success. His progress was so effectually retarded by the

obstructions which General Schuyler's men had thrown in his way, that he was frequently occupied a whole day in advancing with the army a single mile. It was not till the 30th of July that he reached Fort Edward, which General Schuyler had quitted a short time before, retreating to Saratoga. Burgoyne might have much more easily reached Fort Edward by the way of Lake George; but he had been led up the South river in pursuit of the retreating Americans; and he persevered in that difficult route, lest he should discourage his troops by a retrograde movement.

At Fort Edward, Burgoyne found it necessary to pause in his career. He was greatly in want of provisions and draught horses; and his carriages had been broken and needed repairs. It was not till the 15th of August that he succeeded in transporting a quantity of supplies from Fort George.

In order to obtain a further supply, he had detached Colonel Baum, a German officer with 500 men, partly cavalry, two pieces of artillery and 100 Indians, to surprise Bennington, in Vermont, and seize a large deposit of carriages, corn, flour, and other necessities, which had been collected by the Americans in that place.

General Starke, with the New Hampshire militia, 400 strong, happened to be in that vicinity, on his way to join General Schuyler. He heard first of the approach of the Indians, and soon afterwards of the regular force. He collected his brigade, sent expresses to the neighbouring militia to join him, and also to Colonel Warner's regiment at Manchester. On the morning of the 14th of August, he marched against the enemy, at the head of 700 men; and sent Colonel Gregg, with a party of 200, to skirmish in their front, and retard their progress. He drew up his men in order of battle; but, on coming in sight of him, Baum halted on advantageous ground; sent an express to Burgoyne informing him of his situation; and fortified himself as well as circumstances would permit.

After some skirmishing, on the morning of the 16th, Starke commenced a furious attack on the royal forces. Baum made a brave defence. The battle lasted two hours, during which he was assailed on every side by an incessant discharge of musketry. He was mortally wounded; his troops were overpowered; a few of them escaped into the woods and fled, pursued by the Americans; the rest were killed or

taken prisoners. 'Thus,' says a British historian, in whose language we have chosen to record some of these events, 'without artillery, with old rusty firelocks, and with scarcely a bayonet, their militia entirely defeated 500 veterans, well armed, provided with two pieces of artillery, and defended by breastworks.' This was not the only subject of astonishment with which the Americans furnished their enemies during this campaign.

After the victory, the greater part of the militia dispersed in quest of booty; and this imprudence nearly proved fatal to them, for on receiving Baum's express, General Burgoyne had sent Colonel Breyman, with 500 men, to his assistance; and if Colonel Warner's regiment of continentals had not arrived just as he came up, and was attacking the scattered militia, they would have fared but indifferently. Breyman maintained the conflict till dark; when abandoning his artillery and baggage, he retreated, and, escaping under cover of the night, with a shattered remnant of his detachment, regained the camp.

Thus the victory at Bennington was complete. The Americans took four brass field-pieces, 1,000 muskets (a very seasonable supply for the ill-armed militia,) 900 swords, and four baggage waggons. The British lost 700, in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and the Americans 100, in killed and wounded.

This was Burgoyne's first check; and it was a serious one. Its moral effect, in raising the depressed spirits of the Americans, was of immense importance to their cause. Previous to this, dejection and alarm pervaded the northern states; but success now infused spirit and vigour into the militia, and gave a new aspect to affairs on the Hudson.

But the defeat at Bennington was not Burgoyne's only misfortune. He had sent General St. Leger with a detachment of regular troops, Canadians, Royalists, and Indians, to take Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk river, which was garrisoned by about 600 continentals under Colonel Gansevoort. St. Leger arrived there on the 2nd of August, invested the place with an army 1,600 strong, and summoned the garrison to surrender. Gansevoort replied that he would defend the place to the last.

Meantime General Herkimer with 700 militia was sent to his support. This party fell into an ambuscade of British and Indians, and after a vigorous defence, was compelled to retreat.

Herkimer lost 400 men and fell himself in the battle. General Schuyler then despatched Arnold, with a body of regular troops, to Fort Schuyler; but before he reached the fort, St. Leger, being foiled in his attempts on the works, and deserted by his Indian allies, who had been very roughly handled in the late engagements, raised the siege and retired. Arnold finding no occasion for his assistance, soon returned to camp.

It was at this period that a circumstance transpired, which, although it involved only a case of individual suffering, is of importance on account of the degree to which it exasperated the feelings of the Americans, and incited them to an active prosecution of the war. Mr. Jones, an officer of the British army, had gained the affections of Miss Macrea, a lovely young lady of amiable character and spotless reputation, daughter of a gentleman attached to the royal cause, residing near Fort Edward; and they were engaged to be married. In the course of the service, the officer was removed to some distance from his bride; and became anxious for her safety and desirous of her company. He engaged some Indians of two different tribes to bring her to camp, and promised a keg of rum to the person who should deliver her safely to him. She dressed to meet her bridegroom, and accompanied her Indian conductors; but, on the way, the two chiefs, each being desirous of receiving the promised reward, disputed which of them should deliver her to her lover. The dispute rose to a quarrel; and according to their usual method of disposing of a disputed prisoner, one of them instantly cleft the head of the lady with his tomahawk. This being one of the legitimate consequences of the British employing Indian allies, was laid hold of by the Americans, and recited in the newspapers with such circumstances of pathos and warmth of colouring, as to set the people in a complete ferment of rage and indignation against their enemies. The militia rose in great numbers and repairing to the scene of action, augmented the army opposed to Burgoyne to a most formidable array.

Burgoyne still flattered himself with being able to effect a junction with the British at New York, and thus separate the New England states from the middle and southern portions of the union, so that they might be overrun and conquered at leisure. But he was encompassed with difficulties. He was obliged to bring supplies from Fort George; an undertaking of considerable difficulty; and then having constructed a

bridge of boats over the Hudson, he crossed the river on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, 20 miles from Fort Edward, and 37 from Albany.

General Gates, who had been appointed to the command of the northern army, in place of General Schuyler, was now joined by all the continental troops destined for the northern department, and reinforced, as we have already observed, by large bodies of militia. He left the strong position, which General Schuyler had taken, at the confluence of the Mohawk and Hudson, and proceeding 16 miles up the river towards the enemy, formed a strong camp at Stillwater. The two armies were now within 12 miles of each other, but the bridges between them were broken down, and the country was covered with woods.

On the 17th, General Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army; and on the 19th an engagement took place, commencing with skirmishes, but soon involving a considerable part of the force on both sides. Colonel Morgan, with his riflemen, commenced the attack on the advancing left wing of the British, and drove them back. Burgoyne coming up with a strong detachment, Morgan, in his turn, was compelled to give way. But General Gates reinforced him; and the engagement became more general. The Americans attempted to turn the right flank of the British army, with the view of attacking it in the rear: but being opposed by Frazer and Breyman, they made a rapid movement, and commenced a furious attack on the left of the British right wing. The combatants were reinforced; and between three and four in the afternoon, General Arnold, with nine continental regiments, and Morgan's riflemen, was closely engaged with the whole right wing of the British army. Both parties fought with the most determined courage, and the battle ended only with the day. When it became dark, the Americans retired to their camp, and the royal troops lay all night on their arms in the field.

In this battle each party had nearly 3,000 men engaged; the British lost upwards of 500 men; and the Americans 319. Both sides claimed the victory; but the advantages of victory were all with the Americans. The news of the battle was received with joy and exultation throughout the United States; and the ruin of the invading army was confidently anticipated.

The next day, information was received in camp of a decisive victory gained by Colonel Brown and Colonel Johnson, over the British in the vicinity of Ticonderoga; and towards the end of September General Lincoln reached the camp of Gates, with 2,000 men from New England.

On the 7th of October, the second battle of Stillwater was fought, in which, after a severe engagement, the Americans drove their enemies from the field of battle, killed 200 men and many officers, among whom were General Frazer and Colonel Breyman, took nine pieces of artillery, and a large amount of camp equipage and ammunition; and experienced but a trifling loss.

The 8th of October was spent in skirmishing and cannonading. About sunset, the body of General Frazer was, agreeably to his own desire, carried up the hill to be interred in the great redoubt of the British, attended by the officers who had lived in his family. Generals Burgoyne, Philips, and Reidesel, in testimony of respect and affection for the deceased, joined the mournful procession, which necessarily passed in view of both armies. The incessant cannonade, the steady attitude and unfaltering voice of the chaplain, and the firm demeanour of the company during the funeral service, though occasionally covered with the earth torn up by the shot from the hostile batteries, ploughing the ground around them, the mute expression of feeling depicted on every countenance, and the increasing gloom of the evening, all contributed to give an affecting solemnity to the obsequies. General Gates afterwards declared, that if he had been apprised of what was going on, he would have silenced his batteries, or ordered minute guns to be fired in honour of the deceased general.

General Burgoyne, perceiving that the Americans were endeavouring to surround him, commenced a retreat; and on the 9th of October, after a fatiguing and difficult march, reached Saratoga. He next made preparations to retire to Fort Edward, but his retreat was cut off, and all the passes strongly guarded. He was now in a most distressing condition. He had crossed the Hudson in the confident hope of victory and triumph, and in expectation of a powerful co-operation from Sir Henry Clinton, in New York, if needful. On the 21st of September, after the battle of the 19th had in some measure made him sensible of his difficulties, he received a messenger from Clinton, who informed him of an intended

attack on Forts Clinton and Montgomery. That messenger he immediately sent back with a letter, informing Clinton of his intention to maintain the ground he then occupied till the 12th of October, and requesting assistance; but he had heard nothing further from New York.

Clinton had waited for reinforcements from England which did not arrive till the end of September. He then embarked with 3,000 men, and sailed up the Hudson to Fort Montgomery, which was stormed and taken. The British then proceeded up the river, but instead of advancing to the relief of Burgoyne, they employed themselves in laying waste the country and burning the town of Esopus. This proceeding, intended to divert General Gates from his main object, only increased the hatred of the inhabitants against their cruel enemies.

General Burgoyne, having been frustrated in his intention of retreating to Fort Edward, disappointed in his expectation of relief from Sir Henry Clinton, and being now surrounded and cut off from all hope of forcing his way back to Canada, summoned a council of war, and by the unanimous advice of the members, opened a correspondence with General Gates on the 13th of October. On the 16th, terms of capitulation were agreed on, by which it was stipulated that the troops under General Burgoyne should next day march out of their camp, with the honours of war, and the artillery of the entrenchments, and pile their arms on the verge of the river; that a free passage should be granted them to Great Britain, on condition of not serving in North America during the war, unless exchanged; and that they should embark at Boston. On the 17th, the British army piled their arms agreeably to the capitulation, and the formal surrender took place.

When the British army left Ticonderoga it consisted of 10,000 men, besides Indians. At the time of the surrender, it had been reduced to 6,000. General Gates's army was superior in numbers; but it consisted partly of militia.

The news of the surrender of Burgoyne spread the greatest joy and exultation throughout the country. It increased the numbers of the patriots and proportionably thinned the ranks of the loyalists. Had the British ministry been wise, it would have terminated the contest. But they still persisted in their attempts to conquer a people, whose spirit and resolution had shown them to be unconquerable.

At the encampment of Valley Forge, whither General

Washington retired for winter quarters at the close of this campaign, the sufferings of his army were very great. He had chosen this position on account of its being sufficiently near Philadelphia to check the foraging parties of the enemy, and for its security from any sudden and desultory attack. The army was lodged in huts formed of logs with the interstices filled with mud. The winter was severe, and many of the men were without shoes and nearly destitute of clothing; and their line of march from White Marsh to Valley Forge might have been traced by the blood from the bare and mangled feet of the soldiers. The miseries of famine were added to their other sufferings, and in these circumstances, though a few deserted to the enemy, yet the rest bore their lot with cheerfulness, and devoted themselves nobly to the sacred cause of independence.

While the army lay at Valley Forge, a plot was formed to remove General Washington from the chief command; in which several members of congress and a few military officers were concerned. Gates was to succeed him. He, however, disclaimed all connection with the faction; which fortunately for America did not succeed.

In the midst of the difficulties and dangers with which he was surrounded, Washington was serene and undismayed, pursuing the line of his duty with steady perseverance and unshaken fortitude. Instead of manifesting irritable feelings under the malignant attacks made on his character, he behaved with magnanimity; and earnestly applied to congress and the legislative bodies of the several states, for reinforcements to his army, in order that he might be prepared to act with vigour in the ensuing campaign. Congress was slow in making the necessary arrangements; and the state legislatures were backward in furnishing their respective contingents of money and men for the service. At length, however, Washington succeeded in having an efficient commissary-general appointed; the other departments of the army were put on a more desirable footing; and vigorous measures were pursued to prepare for the ensuing campaign.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

THE terms of capitulation at Saratoga, called the "Convention of Saratoga," had provided for the embarkation of the British troops at Boston. The unscrupulous manner in which the British had violated the law of nations with respect to prisoners and surrenders, gave congress good reason to believe that this convention would not be faithfully observed on the part of their enemies; but that, if the troops were delivered up instead of being sent to England, they would be ordered to the middle states, and united with the forces of General Howe. Pretexts for non-compliance with the convention were sought and found by congress, and after a good deal of discussion and correspondence, the troops were detained as prisoners.

Hitherto the American commissioners at Paris had been unable to obtain from France any recognition of American independence. But the capture of Burgoyne's army decided the hesitating councils of that country; and, on the 6th of February, 1778, his most Christian Majesty acknowledged and guaranteed the independence of the United States, and entered into a treaty of commerce and alliance with the new republic. The notification of this act to the British ministers was considered by them equivalent to a declaration of war against Great Britain.

This new danger, together with the intelligence of the defeat and surrender of Burgoyne, appears to have brought the British cabinet, in some measure, to their senses. They now brought into parliament propositions offering the Americans all that they had demanded before the beginning of the contest; and hastily resolved to send over commissioners to bring back the colonies to their allegiance, at any expense of concession and humiliation.

When the conciliatory propositions of Lord North were brought forward in parliament, his speech on the occasion was a singular compound of humiliation and gasconade. He went into a long history of the contest, but gave a very lame account of the causes of failure. The celebrated Charles James Fox replied to him in a speech abounding with cut-

ting sarcasms. He approved of Lord North's propositions, the substance of which Mr. Burke had brought forward three years before, but could not refrain from making some severe animadversions on the policy of the premier, all whose arguments, he asserted, might be collected into one point, his excuses all reduced to one apology—his total ignorance. 'He hoped,' exclaimed the indignant orator, 'he hoped, and was disappointed; he expected a great deal, and found little to answer his expectations. He thought the Americans would have submitted to his laws, and they resisted them. He thought they would have submitted to his armies, and they were beaten by inferior numbers. He made conciliatory propositions, and he thought they would succeed, but they were rejected. He appointed commissioners to make peace, and he thought they had powers; but he found they could not make peace, and nobody believed they had any powers. He had said many such things, as he had thought fit in his conciliatory propositions; he thought it a proper method of quieting the Americans upon the affair of taxation. If any person should give himself the trouble of reading that proposition, he would find not one word of it correspondent to the representation made of it by its framer. The short account of it was, that the noble lord in the proposition assured the colonies, that when parliament had taxed them as much as they thought proper, they would tax them no more.' In conclusion, however, Mr. Fox said, 'that he would vote for the present proposition, because it was much more clear and satisfactory, for necessity had caused him to speak plain.'

The conciliatory bills were passed, and when sent to Lord Howe in New York, and by him submitted to congress, they had not received intelligence of the signature of their treaty of alliance with France. That body, however, did not hesitate a moment as to the line of conduct they were to pursue. They were no more easily to be managed by the fawning, than they had been by the blustering of the British government. They peremptorily rejected Lord North's proposals as insidious and unsatisfactory.

Meantime a proposition had been brought forward by the Duke of Richmond in the British house of Lords for acknowledging the independence of the United States. Lord Chatham understanding what was intended, regardless of his age and infirmities, had attended in his place in the house for the express purpose of opposing the measure. 'My Lords,' ex-

claimed the venerable orator, 'I rejoice that the grave has not closed upon me, and that I am still alive to lift my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy.' He then proceeded in the most energetic manner to urge his auditors to prompt and vigorous efforts against their new enemy, the house of Bourbon; and concluded by calling upon them, if they must fall, to fall like men. The Duke of Richmond having replied to this speech, Lord Chatham attempted to rise for the purpose of rebutting his grace's arguments, and proposing his own plan for ending the American war, which is understood to have been the establishment with the colonies, upon the most liberal terms, of a kind of federal union under one common monarch. But the powers of nature in him were exhausted: he fainted under the effort to speak his sentiments, and being conveyed to his country seat in Kent, he expired on the 11th of May.

The firmness with which congress rejected Lord North's propositions augured ill for the success of the British commissioners, Lord Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and Governor Johnstone, who arrived at New York on the 9th of June, 1778, and immediately attempted to open a negotiation with congress. Their overtures were officially answered by the president, Mr. Laurens, in a letter in which he apprised them that the American government were determined to maintain their independence, but were willing to treat for peace with his Britannic majesty, on condition of his withdrawing his fleets and armies from the country.

Thus foiled in their attempt at open negotiation, the commissioners had recourse to secret intrigues. Governor Johnstone, from his long residence in America, was personally acquainted with many of the leading members of congress, to whom he addressed letters, vaguely intimating the great rewards and honours which would await those who should assist in putting an end to the present troubles. He is said to have offered Joseph Reed, a general in the army and a member of congress, ten thousand pounds sterling and any office within the colonies in his majesty's gift, if he would endeavour to re-unite the colonies to the mother country. 'I am not worth purchasing,' replied this incorruptible patriot, 'but such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me.'

All the clandestine overtures of the governor were rejected

with contempt, and congress being apprised of them, declared them direct attempts at corruption, and refused all intercourse with him. The *pacificators* then published a manifesto threatening the union with a war of devastation. Congress then notified the gentlemen, that the bearers of copies of this manifesto were not entitled to the protection of a flag; and at the same time displayed their contempt of its threats by giving it a very extensive circulation through the country in the newspapers. The commissioners remained a short time at New York, and then sailed for Britain.

General Howe spent the spring of 1778, nearly in a state of inaction, confining his operations to the sending out of foraging and predatory parties, which did some mischief to the country, and but little service to the royal cause.

In May, the Marquis de la Fayette, with upwards of 2,000 chosen men and six pieces of artillery, was ordered to the east of the Schuylkill, and took post on Barren Hill, seven or eight miles in front of the army at Valley Forge. General Howe got notice of his position, and sent out General Grant, with 5,000 of his best troops to surprise him. Owing to the desertion of their post by some militia on the look-out, he was near accomplishing his object, but La Fayette eluded the snare, and by able manœuvring returned to the camp without loss. The retreat of Barren Hill has always been regarded as a most splendid achievement, and received the highest commendations of Washington.

Soon afterwards General Howe received orders from the British ministry to evacuate Philadelphia without delay. These orders were sent under the apprehension, that if a French fleet should block up his squadron in the Delaware, whilst Washington inclosed him on the land side, he would share the fate of Burgoyne. On the 18th of June, therefore, the British troops quitted Philadelphia, and crossed over into New Jersey, whither they were speedily followed by Washington, who, keeping a strict watch on their movements, harassed them on their march, which was encumbered with baggage.

On his arrival at Princeton, Washington, hearing that General Clinton, with a large division of the British forces, had quitted the direct road to Staten Island, the place of rendezvous appointed for General Howe's army, and was marching for Sandy Hook, sent a detachment in pursuit of him, and followed with his whole army to support it; and as Clinton halted at Monmouth and made preparations to meet the

premeditated attack, he sent forward reinforcements, to keep the British in check.

These reinforcements were commanded by General Lee, whom Washington, on his coming up with the main body, met in full retreat. After angrily remonstrating with him, the commander-in-chief ordered him to advance again. He obeyed and was again driven back; but he brought off his troops in good order. When Washington brought the main body of the army into action, the British were compelled to give way; and taking advantage of the night, the approach of which probably saved them from utter discomfiture, they withdrew to Sandy Hook, leaving behind them such of their wounded as could not with safety be removed.

The victory at Monmouth was celebrated with rejoicings throughout the United States, and congress returned thanks to General Washington and his army.

General Lee, conceiving himself to have been insulted by General Washington on the field of battle, in the evening addressed him a letter, expressed in disrespectful terms. He was, therefore, put under arrest, and tried by a court martial for disobedience of orders, and disrespect to his commander-in-chief. He was found guilty, and suspended from his command for a year. He never rejoined the army, but remained in retirement until October, 1782, when he died at Philadelphia.

After the battle of Monmouth, Washington marched to White Plains, a few miles to the north-eastward of New York island. Here he continued watching the unmolested movements of the neighbouring enemy, from the beginning of July till the latter end of autumn, when he retired to take up his winter quarters in huts which he had caused to be constructed at Middlebrook in Jersey.

The British ministry were not mistaken in their view of the intentions of the French. In July, the Count d'Estaing, with a fleet of twelve ships of the line and three frigates, arrived off the mouth of the Delaware, but found that Lord Howe had already withdrawn the British fleet from that river to the harbour of New York. D'Estaing immediately sailed for Sandy Hook. After continuing there at anchor eleven days, during which he captured about twenty English merchantmen, finding that he could not work his line of battle ships over the bar, by the advice of General Washington he sailed for Newport, with a view of co-operating with the Americans in driving

the British from Rhode Island, of which they had been in possession for upwards of eighteen months. General Sullivan, with a detachment from General Washington's army, and re-inforcements from New England, was to act in concert with him.

This enterprise, however, completely failed, for want of active co-operation on the part of the French fleet. Lord Howe, appearing with his fleet off Newport, the French admiral came out of the harbour to give him battle; but before the hostile armaments could encounter, a violent storm arose, which damaged both fleets so much, that the British were compelled to return to New York, and D'Estaing declared his intention of withdrawing to Boston harbour. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of General Green and the Marquis de la Fayette, who were deputed by Washington to exert their influence in preventing this ill-timed retreat, he executed his purpose, leaving the American army, under General Sullivan, on the island, in a very critical situation; but by the skill of its commander it was withdrawn to the main land with trifling loss. His escape was very fortunate, as Sir Henry Clinton was on his way to Rhode Island with a reinforcement of 4,000 men, but was detained in the sound four days by contrary winds, and arrived only the day after the Americans had left the Island. A very short delay on the part of General Sullivan, might have proved fatal to the army.

Sanguine expectations had been entertained throughout the United States, of the reduction of Rhode Island and the capture of the British force which defended it, so that the disappointment and mortification, on the failure of the enterprise, were exceedingly bitter. The French, being considered the authors of the miscarriage, were much blamed; and some misunderstanding took place between General Sullivan and the Count d'Estaing on the occasion. By the intervention of General Washington and the congress, however, the growing breach between the Americans and their allies was soon healed.

During the summer of 1778, a harassing and destructive war was carried on by the Indians against the settlers on the western frontier of the United States. The happy settlement of Wyoming, in Pennsylvania, became in a particular manner the scene of carnage, misery, and ruin. It was a flourishing settlement, containing about 1,000 inhabitants. Unfortunately, the neighbourhood was infested with royalists, who uniting with the Indians in the work of treachery and murder, suc-

ceeded in surprising the settlement and capturing the forts; and massacred a great part of the inhabitants. Colonel John Butler, their leader, with his loyalists and Indians, to save themselves the trouble of murdering individually their vanquished enemies, with the women and children, shut them all up in the houses and barracks, set fire to the buildings, and with savage exultation, saw them all perish in the flames. The surrounding country was then laid waste, and about three thousand persons, without money, clothes, or provisions, precipitately abandoned their homes, and fled from the murderous tomahawk. The approach of some continental troops drove the savage invaders from the region which they had desolated. These atrocities served to exasperate the Americans, and to give a still sterner aspect to the subsequent character of the war.

The western frontier of Virginia was saved from similar horrors by the enterprise and courage of Colonel George Rogers Clarke, who, with a body of militia, penetrated to the British settlements on the Mississippi, took the town of Kaskaskias, and subsequently surprised Colonel Hamilton, who had been intrusted with the direction of the operations on the Wabash. By his activity in encouraging the Indian hostilities, and stimulating them to the perpetration of revolting barbarities, Hamilton had rendered himself so obnoxious, that the executive council of Virginia threw him and some of his immediate agents into prison, and put them in irons. The vigorous measures of Clarke disconcerted Hamilton's plan for annoying the western frontier, and deterred the Indians from engaging in their ferocious incursions into the United States.

When the season for active operations in the middle and northern states had terminated, the British commander-in-chief resolved to make an attempt on the southern provinces. Some royalists, who had fled from the Carolinas and Georgia, had made incursions into the latter state. These had been retaliated by General Robert Howe, commander of the military force of South Carolina and Georgia, but the sickness of his troops had compelled him to retire and take post in the vicinity of Savannah, where he had to encounter an enemy far more formidable than the irregulars of East Florida.

On the 23rd of December an armament, commanded by Colonel Campbell with about 3,500 men, escorted by a small squadron under Admiral Parker, appeared off the mouth of

the Savannah, and proceeding up the river effected a landing without much opposition on the 29th.

Howe, with about 900 men, was posted in a good position about two miles from Savannah. He was surrounded by a swamp, river, and morass, excepting in front. He had destroyed a bridge and broken up the road in front, so that if attacked in that quarter he could have defended himself with advantage. But a negro who fell into Colonel Campbell's hands, informed him of a private path through the morass by which the rear of the American army might be gained. The consequence was, that being attacked on both sides, although Howe and his men fought with the greatest intrepidity, less than one half of them were able to escape and effect a retreat to South Carolina. The capital of Georgia of course fell into the hands of the British, and Sunbury and Augusta being soon after taken, the whole state was brought under the British sway.

The noble defence of Fort Moultrie, in 1776, had hitherto saved the southern states from the horrors of war; but the defeat of General Howe, at Savannah, made those states the scene of fierce and desolating hostilities during the remainder of the contest.

The small navy of the Americans suffered some loss during this year. Many of their ships were destroyed in the harbours on the coast, and one was lost at sea under very distressing circumstances. The Randolph, an American frigate of 36 guns and 305 men, commanded by Captain Biddle, having sailed from Charleston on a cruise, fell in with the British frigate Yarmouth, of 64 guns, and engaged her in the night. In about 15 minutes the Randolph blew up, and all the crew, except four men, perished. These men, floating on a piece of the wreck, subsisted four days on rain water, which they sucked from a piece of blanket. They were then discovered and relieved by the captain of the Yarmouth. Captain Biddle, who perished on board the Randolph, was universally lamented. He was an officer whose tried courage and skill had excited high expectations of future usefulness to the country.

In April of this year the celebrated naval commander, Paul Jones, in the brig Ranger, of 18 guns, captured the British sloop of war Drake, of 20 guns, which had been fitted out with more than her complement of officers and men for the express purpose of capturing Jones. This was one among a

series of brilliant achievements which had already procured for Jones the highest reputation.

Neither of the contending parties was very well satisfied with the result of this campaign. The Americans, who had expected, with the assistance of the French, to terminate the war by some decisive stroke, were not a little mortified that the only result of the co-operation of their ally, was the recovery of Philadelphia. On the other hand, the British ministry were grievously disappointed on learning that the issue of the campaign, as far as regarded their main army, was the exchange, by the commander-in-chief, of his narrow quarters in Philadelphia, for the not much more extended ones of New York island. Hitherto they seem to have carried on the war under the idea that the majority of the colonies were favourably disposed towards the royal government, and were only restrained from manifesting their loyalty by a faction, whom it would be easy with their assistance to subdue, but from this period they appear to have abandoned this chimera, and conducted their hostilities in a spirit of desperation and revenge.

CHAPTER XXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

THE principal operations of the war were now transferred from the northern and middle, to the southern states of the union. In the north the British seem to have aimed chiefly at creating as large an amount of distress and devastation as possible. They had declared their intention of making 'the colonies of as little avail as possible to their new connections;' and truly the zeal and activity with which they endeavoured to render the country a desert, were worthy of a better cause.

With a view to subject Virginia to the unmitigated horrors of war, Sir Henry Clinton, on the 10th of May, 1779, sent an expedition into that state, under the command of Sir George Collyer and General Matthews, who, after landing at Portsmouth, proceeded to Suffolk, and laid that town in ashes. The houses of private gentlemen in the surrounding country shared the same fate. After burning and capturing 130 vessels of different sizes, and devastating the whole country in

their line of march, the marauders sailed back, loaded with plunder, to New York.

About five weeks after their return, Governor Tryon, doubtless stimulated with ambition at so noble an example, took the command of a similar expedition to the coast of Connecticut. With about 2,600 men, he sailed from New York, by the way of Hell-gate, and landed at East Haven, which he devoted to the flames, in violation of his promise of protection to all the inhabitants who should remain in their houses. He then marched to New Haven, and delivered up that town to promiscuous plunder. The inhabitants were stripped of their household furniture and moveable property, and subjected to every outrage of a brutal soldiery, excepting only the burning of their houses. The British then embarked and proceeded to Fairfield and Norwalk, which were also plundered and then burnt. Governor Tryon having effected this mischief in ten days, with little loss, returned to the British head-quarters to make a report of his proceedings to the commander-in-chief.

Whilst this mode of warfare was carried on, Washington could spare very few men, for the defence of the invaded districts. His attention was engrossed by the main army of the British, to keep which in check, he posted his forces at West Point, and on the opposite side of the Hudson, pushing his patrols to the vicinity of his adversary's lines.

It was about this time that General Putnam performed his famous feat of riding down the stone stairs at Horse Neck. He was stationed at Reading, in Connecticut, and visiting his out post at Horse Neck, with but 150 men, and two iron field-pieces without drag-ropes, he was attacked by Governor Tryon with 1,500 men. Putnam planted his cannon on the high ground, near the meeting-house, and, by firing, retarded the enemy's advance, till seeing the infantry and cavalry preparing for a charge, he ordered his men to retire to a neighbouring swamp, and plunged down the precipice near the church. This was so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly 100 stone steps, for the accommodation of foot passengers. The British dragoons durst not follow the intrepid horseman down the precipice, and before they could ride round the hill, he was out of their reach. The infantry poured a shower of bullets after him, but all missed, except one, which pierced his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, and having re-united his men, and obtained a

reinforcement of militia, faced about, and pursued General Tryon on his return.

As the British occupied, with a strong garrison, Stony Point, some miles to the south of Washington's camp, on the 15th of July, he despatched General Wayne, with a small detachment, to dislodge them. This expedition, though an exceedingly bold and hazardous one, was completely successful. After a very obstinate defence, in which Wayne was wounded, the fort was carried by storm; the garrison, to the number of 543, were taken prisoners, 63 being killed, and the standards, ordnance, and military stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. This was considered one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. Washington did not, however, think it prudent for the present to attempt to establish himself at Stony Point; and it was speedily re-occupied by the British.

Another instance of the enterprising boldness of the Americans occurred soon after, in the surprise of the British garrison at Paulus Hook, opposite to New York, which was attacked on the 19th of July, by Major Lee, who stormed the works, and took 160 prisoners, whom he brought safely to the American lines.

The joy felt by the Americans at the success of these daring enterprises was somewhat damped by the failure of an expedition, undertaken by the state of Massachusetts, to dispossess the British of a fort which they had erected at Penobscot, in the district of Maine. They here lost the whole of their flotilla, which was destroyed or captured by Sir George Collyer, whilst their land forces were compelled to seek for safety by retreating through the woods.

Spain having now declared war against Great Britain, it was hoped by the Americans that this additional pressure of foreign foes would compel the British ministry to withdraw their forces from North America. But the energies of the mother country were roused in proportion to the increase of her peril. Her fleets gave her decided superiority on the ocean, and her king was determined to strain every nerve to reduce his revolted colonies to obedience. At this period the ease with which the reduction of Georgia had been effected, and the advantages which it might afford in making an attack upon the rest of the southern states, induced his ministers to renew their efforts in that quarter.

The back settlements of Georgia and the Carolinas,

abounded with renegadoes and royalists, who had been compelled by the republicans to withdraw into these wilds, from the more settled part of the country. These adventurers having joined the royal forces, under the command of Major-General Prescott, which had also received reinforcements from Florida, that officer found himself in a condition to commence active operations. His preparations filled the neighbouring states with alarm.

The American regular troops had, with few exceptions, been sent from the Carolinas to reinforce the army of General Washington; and the only reliance of the patriots in this part of the country was placed on the militia, which congress had placed under the command of General Lincoln. On inspecting his men, Lincoln found them very ill prepared to meet the disciplined forces of the enemy, as they were deficient in equipments, badly organised, and worse drilled. In these circumstances, the active operations of the enemy allowed him no time to train them.

Soon after his arrival at head quarters, a division of the British army, under Major Gardiner, was detached from Savannah to take possession of Port Royal, in South Carolina, but was driven back with a heavy loss of men, and nearly all their officers, by General Moultrie. This repulse damped the ardour, and suspended the enterprise of the British, who took post at Augusta and Ebenezer, situated on the Savannah river.

Here they waited in expectation of being joined by a body of royalists, who had been collected in the upper parts of South Carolina. These reputable allies of the British had no sooner begun their march towards Augusta, than they commenced such a series of atrocities against the peaceful inhabitants, that they rose *en masse* to oppose them. Colonel Picken, with about 300 volunteers, pursued and came up with them near Kettle creek, where he totally routed them, killed about 40, with their leader, Colonel Boyd, and dispersed the rest. Some of them afterwards gave themselves up to be tried by the laws of South Carolina, for violating the sedition act. Seventy of them were condemned to die; but only five of the ringleaders were executed. This proceeding led to acts of retaliation on the part of the royalists, and the king's troops, which for a long time gave a peculiar character of atrocity to the war in the southern states.

Encouraged by this success, General Lincoln sent an expedition into Georgia, with a view of repressing the incursions

of the enemy, and confining them to the low country near the ocean. The detachment, consisting of 1,500 North Carolina militia, and a few regular troops, under General Ash, crossed the Savannah, and took a position on Briar Creek; but he was surprised by Lieutenant-Colonel Prevost, who made a circuitous march of 50 miles, and came upon his rear with 900 veterans. The militia were thrown into confusion at once, and fled at the first fire; 150 of the Americans were killed, 162 taken, some were drowned in attempting to cross the Savannah, and only 450 escaped to the camp. This event cost General Lincoln one-fourth of his army, and opened a communication between the British camp at Savannah, and the Indian and royalist friends of the British in North and South Carolina.

In this disastrous state of affairs, the legislature of South Carolina invested their governor, Mr. John Rutledge, and his council, with an almost absolute authority, by virtue of which a considerable force of militia was embodied and stationed near the centre of the state, to act as necessity might require.

Lincoln now determined to carry the war into the enemy's quarters; and with the main army, he crossed the Savannah, near Augusta, and marched towards the capital of Georgia. Prevost instantly took advantage of this movement, to invade South Carolina, at the head of 2,400 men, and compelling General Moultrie, who was charged with the defence of Charleston, to retire, he pushed forward towards that city.

At this time his superiority was so decisive, and his prospects so bright, that Moultrie's troops began to desert in great numbers, and with real or affected zeal embraced the royal cause. On his appearance before Charleston, the garrison of that place, consisting of 3,300 men, sent commissioners to propose a neutrality on their part during the remainder of the war. This advantageous proposal he was impolitic enough to decline, and made preparations to attack the town, which was tolerably well fortified.

Whilst he had been wasting time in negotiations, General Lincoln had been hastening from Georgia to the relief of the place; and on his approach, Prevost, fearing to be exposed to two fires, withdrew his forces across Ashley river, and encamped on some small islands bordering on the sea-coast. Here, on the 20th of June, he was attacked by General Lincoln, with about 1,200 men, but succeeded in giving him a

repulse with the loss of 150 men, in consequence of the failure of a part of the American general's combinations.

Notwithstanding this success, General Prevost did not think it advisable to maintain his position, but retreated to Port Royal, and thence to Savannah.

The Americans, under the command of Lincoln, soon afterwards retired to Sheldon, a healthy situation in the vicinity of Beaufort, about half way between Charleston and Savannah. Both armies now remained in their respective encampments in a state of tranquillity until the beginning of September, when the arrival of a French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

Count d'Estaing had proceeded, towards the close of the preceding year, from Boston to the West Indies, whence, after capturing St. Vincents and Grenada, he had returned to the assistance of the Americans. At the sight of this armament, which consisted of 20 sail of the line and 13 frigates, the republicans exulted in the sanguine hope of capturing their enemies, or of expelling them from the country. The militia poured in from the surrounding region in great numbers, and uniting with the regular force, under General Lincoln, marched for the vicinity of Savannah.

Before their arrival D'Estaing had summoned the town to surrender, and had granted General Prevost a suspension of hostilities for 24 hours, for the purpose of settling the terms of a capitulation. But during this interval a reinforcement of 700 men had forced their way from Beaufort for his relief. Encouraged by this seasonable aid, Prevost determined to hold out to the last extremity.

The allied forces, therefore, commenced the siege of Savannah in form. On the 4th of October, the besiegers opened with 9 mortars, and 37 pieces of cannon, from the land side, and 15 from the water. On a report from the French engineers, that a considerable time would be consumed in conducting the siege by regular approaches, D'Estaing, who was apprehensive of injury to his fleet from hurricanes at that season of the year, determined on an assault.

In conjunction with Lincoln, he led his troops to the attack with great gallantry; but a heavy and well directed fire from the batteries, and a cross fire from the British galleys, threw their front columns into confusion. Two standards were planted on the enemy's batteries, but after 55 minutes of hard fighting it was found necessary to order a retreat. Count

d'Estaing and Count Pulaski were both wounded; the former slightly, the latter mortally. Six hundred and thirty-seven of the French, and upwards of 200 of the continentals and militia, were killed or wounded. The damage sustained by the British was trifling. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia retired to their homes; Count d'Estaing re-embarked his troops and artillery and sailed from Savannah; and General Lincoln, re-crossing the Savannah river, returned to South Carolina.

The visit of the French fleet to the coast of America, although unsuccessful in its chief object, was not altogether useless to the United States. It disconcerted the measures of the British, and caused a considerable waste of time in digesting their plans of operation. It also occasioned the evacuation of Rhode Island, which, however, was of little importance to the cause, as the 6,000 men who were stationed there for two years and eight months, were thus effectually kept out of active service.

The paper money system adopted by the continental congress, had now begun to produce its legitimate effects of ruin and distress. The bills were depreciated to about one-thirtieth of their nominal value. The pay of the officers and soldiers was insufficient to procure them clothing. Congress finding its funds and credit exhausted, made a requisition on the several states for provisions and forage. Private capitalists, and some of the patriotic leaders, made loans to the government, and loans were solicited in Europe. Notwithstanding these expedients, the army was wretchedly supplied; and it required all the patriotic exertions of their officers to restrain the men from desertion or open revolt. The example of their leaders, in cheerfully submitting to severe hardships, and making sport of privations which were anything but light, had its effect in retaining the troops in the service, and making them bear and do their utmost for the cause of their country.

This year was signalised by the most celebrated of the achievements of Paul Jones. In August he sailed from France in the *Bon Homme Richard*, with six other vessels, the whole squadron being under his command. Having cruised successfully off the coast of Ireland for some time, he sailed with the *Pallas*, of 32 guns, and the *Vengeance*, of 16 guns, to the coast of Scotland, captured several armed vessels in sight of the port of Leith, and after threatening to lay the town under contribution, which threat he was only prevented from exe-

cuting by a violent gale of wind coming on, he again put to sea.

A few days after this he fought his famous battle with the British frigate *Serapis*. On the 23rd of September, 1779, at seven o'clock in the evening, the encounter took place off Flamborough-head, on the coast of England, and the moon shining brightly at the time, the action was witnessed by thousands of spectators assembled on the shore. The *Serapis* was a new ship, with 44 guns, and a select crew. In every respect she was far superior to the *Bon Homme Richard*. The action commenced with a broadside from the *Serapis*, and raged with unremitting fury, till the bowsprit of the British vessel coming over the poop of the *Bon Homme Richard* by her mizen mast, Jones himself seized the ropes that hung from the bowsprit, and made them fast to his own ship. The *Serapis* now swung round, so as to lie alongside the American vessel, with the stern of one close to the bow of the other. The battle was then renewed with increasing fury, and lasted till half-past ten o'clock, when the enemy's mainmast going by the board, he struck his colours.

The details of the battle surpass anything in the records of naval warfare for determined bravery and perseverance. The *Bon Homme Richard* was actually in a sinking state when the battle ended; and there was hardly time allowed to take out the wounded men, before she went down.

When the *Serapis* first hove in sight, she, in company with the *Countess of Scarborough*, a ship of 20 guns, was convoying a large fleet of merchantmen; and while the action with the *Bon Homme Richard* was going on, the *Pallas* engaged and captured the *Countess of Scarborough*.

Jones was honoured with the most unlimited confidence by congress, and received many marks of favour from that body, as well as from the king of France.

The campaign of 1779 was productive of no decisive events. The Americans seem to have counted too much on the aid of their new allies, and to have exerted themselves but feebly in endeavouring to rid the country of its enemies; and yet they were bitterly disappointed, when at the end of the season it was found that little or nothing had been accomplished towards bringing the war to a close. The army was dispirited by defeat; and many of the citizens began to despair of the fortunes of the country. But the hardier spirits, the leaders in council and in the field, took heart when they recollected that the

enemy had effected little except the overrunning and plundering an extensive tract of territory ; and that after all their battles and marauding expeditions, they had been compelled to return to as narrow encampments as they had occupied before the campaign commenced.

CHAPTER XXX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

RECENT events in the southern country had convinced Sir Henry Clinton of the weakness of that portion of the Union, and had pointed it out as the proper theatre of war. Leaving, therefore, the command of the royal army in New York, to General Kniphausen, on the 26th of December, 1779, he sailed from that city with a considerable force, and after a stormy passage, on the 11th of the ensuing month he arrived at Tybee in Georgia, at the mouth of the Savannah river. Hence he proceeded to Ashley river, and encamped opposite to Charleston.

On his arrival, the assembly of the state of South Carolina broke up its sitting, after having once more delegated a dictatorial authority to Governor Rutledge, who immediately issued his orders for the assembling of the militia. These orders were not promptly obeyed. The disasters of the last campaign had damped the ardour of patriotism, and each man seemed to look to his neighbours for those exertions which might have been justly expected from himself.

On reconnoitering the works of Charleston, however, Sir Henry Clinton did not deem it expedient to attack them till he had received reinforcements from New York and Savannah. These soon arrived, and he proceeded to open the siege in form.

Charleston is situated on a tongue of land, bounded on the west by Ashley, and on the east by Cooper river. The approach to Ashley river was defended by Fort Moultrie, erected on Sullivan's Island ; and the passage up Cooper river was impeded by a number of vessels sunk in the channel, opposite the town. On the land side, the place was defended by a citadel and strong lines, extending from river to river.

Before these lines Clinton broke ground on the 29th of March, and on the 10th of April he completed his first parallel. On the preceding day, Admiral Arbuthnot, who commanded the British fleet, had passed Fort Moultrie with little loss, and had anchored near the town. About the 20th of April the British commander received a second reinforcement of 3,000 men; and the place was soon completely invested by sea and by land—his third parallel being advanced to the very edge of the American works.

General Lincoln, who commanded the American garrison in Charleston, would not have shut himself up in the town, if he had not confidently expected relief from the militia, who had been called out by Governor Rutledge, and by whose assistance, he had hoped if reduced to extremity, to have effected a retreat across Cooper river. But the few who, in this hour of difficulty, advanced to his aid, were cut off or kept in check; and the river was possessed by the enemy.

In these distressful circumstances, after sustaining a bombardment which set the town on fire in different places, on the 12th of May he surrendered on a capitulation, the principal terms of which were, that 'the militia were to be permitted to return to their respective homes, as prisoners on parole, and while they adhered to their parole, were not to be molested in their persons or property.' The same conditions were also imposed on all the inhabitants of the town, civil as well as military.

Sir Henry Clinton now addressed himself to the business of re-establishing the royal authority in the province, as a preliminary step to which, on the 1st of June he issued a proclamation, offering to the inhabitants, on condition of their submission, pardon for their past offences, a reinstatement in their rights, and what was remarkable, as indicating the lowered tone of the ministry, exemption from taxation except by their own legislature.

This proclamation was followed up by the posting of garrisons in different parts of the country, to protect the royalists and overawe the patriots, and by the march of 2,000 men towards North Carolina. On their advance, the American troops, who had marched from that province too late for the relief of Charleston, retreated with the loss of a party of nearly 400 men who were barbarously massacred, after surrendering to Colonel Tarlton at the Waxhaws.

Thus completely successful, Clinton, early in June em-

barked with the principal part of his forces, for New York, having delegated the completion of the subjugation of South Carolina to Lord Cornwallis, with whom he left for that purpose an army of 4,000 men.

When Lord Cornwallis assumed the command in South Carolina, the Americans had no army in the field within 400 miles of that province, and the principal part of the inhabitants had submitted either as prisoners or as subjects. Had they been suffered to remain in this state of quiet neutrality, they would have adhered to their parole of honour, and awaited the issue of the contest in the northern states.

But his lordship's instructions did not permit him to be contented with this passive obedience, and he proceeded to take measures to compel the South Carolinians to take up arms against their countrymen. For this purpose he issued a proclamation, absolving from their parole, all the inhabitants who had bound themselves by that obligation, and restoring them 'to all the rights and *duties* belonging to citizens.'

What was meant by the ominous word '*duties*' was explained by another part of the proclamation, whereby it was declared, 'that it was proper for all persons to take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government, and that whoever should not do so, should be treated as rebels.'

The Carolinians were highly indignant at the treacherous and unprincipled violation of the terms of their submission. Many of them justly considering the contract to be broken by this proceeding of the British commander, instantly resumed their arms; and though more, under the impression of fear, enrolled themselves as subjects, they brought to the cause a hollow-hearted allegiance which could not be trusted in the day of trial. Large numbers quitted the province, and hastened to join the army which congress was raising for the purpose of recovering South Carolina, and others forming themselves into small bands, commenced a system of partisan warfare, which, for a long time, spread terror and desolation through the southern country.

This partisan war commenced on the 12th of July, two months after the fall of Charleston, when 133 of Colonel Sumter's corps attacked and routed a detachment of the royal forces and militia at Williamson's plantation. This success brought in new volunteers, and Sumter soon found himself at the head of 600 men. With this increase of force he made a spirited attack on a party of the British at Rocky Mount,

but as they were entrenched, and he had no artillery, he was obliged to retreat. Determined to keep his militia employed, he next attacked another royal detachment consisting of the Prince of Wales's regiment, and a large body of royalists, posted at Hanging Rock. The Prince of Wales's regiment was nearly annihilated, being reduced from 278 to 9. The royalists were dispersed.

A body of Maryland and Delaware troops sent forward in March for the relief of Charleston, under the command of Baron De Kalb, had been delayed, and had only reached Petersburg on the 16th of April. General Gates, whose victory at Saratoga had given him a brilliant reputation, was ordered by congress to take command of this force, and the chief direction of the southern campaign. On joining the army, in North Carolina, Gates was advised by De Kalb to proceed by a circuitous route, to the southward, where he would find plenty of provisions; but conceiving it to be his duty to hasten with all speed to the scene of action, he preferred the straight forward road to Camden, which led through a desert pine barren.

In traversing this dreary tract of country, his forces were exhausted with fatigue and hunger. The few cattle which his commissariat had provided having been consumed, his only resource for meat was the lean beasts which were accidentally picked up in the woods. Meal and grain were also very scarce; and as substitutes for bread, the soldiers were obliged to have recourse to the green corn and fruits which they met with on their line of march. The consequence of this unwonted diet was, that the army was thinned by dysentery and other diseases usually caused by the heat of the weather, and by unwholesome food.

The soldiers at first bore these hardships with impatience, and symptoms of dissatisfaction, and even of mutiny, began to appear amongst them. But by the conciliatory exertions of the officers, who shared in all the privations of the common men, the spirit of murmuring was repressed, and the troops pursued their weary march with patience and even with cheerfulness.

On their arrival at the place called Deep Creek, their distresses were alleviated by a supply of good beef, accompanied by a distribution of half a pound of Indian corn meal to each man. Invigorated by this welcome refreshment, they proceeded to the cross roads, where they were joined by a

respectable body of militia under the command of General Caswell.

Though Gates was aware that another body of militia was hastening to his assistance from Virginia, he was prevented from waiting for their arrival by want of provisions, and, after staying for one day only at the cross roads, finding that the enemy intended to dispute his passage at Lynch's creek, he marched to the right towards Clermont, where the British had established a defensible post. On his approach to the latter place, however, Lord Rawdon, who commanded the advance of the British, concentrated all his forces at Camden, whilst Gates mustered the whole of his army at Clermont, which is distant from Camden about thirteen miles.

These events occurred on the 13th of August, and on the next day the American troops were reinforced by a body of 700 of the Virginia militia under General Stevens. At the same time Gates received an express from Colonel Sumter, who reported that he had been joined by a number of the South Carolina militia, at his encampment on the west side of the Wateree, and that an escort of clothing, ammunition, and other stores belonging to the British was proceeding from Charleston to Camden, and must of necessity, on its way to its destination, cross the Wateree at a ferry about a mile from that place.

On receiving this intelligence, Gates sent forward a detachment of the Maryland line, consisting of 100 regular infantry, and a company of artillery, with two brass field-pieces, and 300 North Carolina militia, all under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Woodford, who was instructed to join Sumter, and assist him in intercepting the convoy.

At the same time, Gates made preparations for advancing still nearer to Camden, in the expectation that, if Lord Rawdon did not abandon that post, as he had done that of Clermont, his supplies would be cut off by the body of militia that were expected to pour forth from the upper counties, and he would thus be compelled to surrender.

On reaching the frontiers of South Carolina, Gates had issued a proclamation, inviting the inhabitants to join his standard, and offering an amnesty to such of them as, under the pressure of circumstances, had promised allegiance to the British government. Though this proclamation had not been without effect, it had not called forth the numbers upon which the American general had been led to calculate, and after the

departure of Woodford's detachment, Gates could muster no more than between 4,000 and 5,000 disposable men.

Determined, nevertheless, to persevere in his plan of offensive operations, he marched about ten at night on the 15th of August to within half a mile of Sander's creek, about half-way between his encampment and Camden. Lord Cornwallis, who the day before had repaired to his head-quarters at Camden, and had taken command of the British army, was also resolved, though his forces amounted to only 2,000 men, of whom 1,700 were infantry, and 300 cavalry, to attack the enemy in their camp, and advancing for that purpose at half past two in the morning, encountered their advanced parties, near Sander's creek. Here, some firing took place with various success; but on the whole, the British had the advantage in this night encounter, and the militia were not a little dispirited at this result.

Early on the ensuing morning both armies prepared for battle. On the side of the Americans, the second Maryland brigade, under the command of General Gist, occupied the right, which was flanked by a morass; the Virginia militia and the North Carolina infantry, also covered by some boggy ground, were posted on the left, whilst General Caswell, with the North Carolina division and the artillery, appeared in the centre. A *corps de reserve* under the orders of General Smallwood, was posted about 300 yards in the rear of the American line.

In arranging the British forces Lord Cornwallis gave the command of the right to Lieutenant-Colonel Webster, with the 23rd and 33rd regiments of foot. The left was guarded by some Irish volunteers, the infantry of the legion and part of Hamilton's regiment, under the command of Lord Rawdon. The cavalry of the legion was stationed in the rear, where also the 71st regiment was stationed as a reserve.

The respective armies being thus disposed, the action began by the advance of 200 of the British in front of the American artillery, who received them with a steady fire. Gates then ordered the Virginian militia to advance under the command of Colonel Stevens, who cheerfully obeyed the orders of his commander-in-chief, and when he had led his men within firing distance, urged them to charge the enemy with their bayonets. This portion of the army however did not emulate the gallantry of their leader.

Lord Cornwallis observing their movement, ordered Colo-

nel Webster to attack them. This order was obeyed with a loud cheer. Intimidated by this indication of determined daring, the militia were panic-struck, and the Virginians and Carolinians threw down their arms and hastened from the field. The right wing and the *corps de reserve*, however, maintained their position, and even gained ground upon the enemy; but Lord Cornwallis, taking advantage of a favourable moment, charged them with his cavalry and put them completely to the rout. The whole of the baggage and artillery of the Americans fell into the hands of the enemy, and the fugitives were pursued by the British cavalry for the space of twenty miles. So complete was this defeat that, on the second day after the engagement, General Gates could only muster 150 of his soldiers at Charleston, a town in the south of North Carolina, whence he retreated farther north to Salisbury, and afterwards to Hillsborough.

To add to the misfortunes of the Americans, the defeat of Gates was immediately followed by the surprise and dispersion of Sumter's partisan corps. This brave officer had succeeded in capturing the convoy with the British stores, already mentioned; but hearing of Gates's defeat, he began to retreat with his prisoners and stores. Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry, pursued with such celerity as to overtake and surprise him at Fishing creek. All the artillery and stores fell into the hands of the British, and the whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed. Their prisoners were, of course, all retaken.

The sickness of the season prevented Lord Cornwallis from attempting to pursue the remains of General Gates's army; but he employed the leisure now afforded him in inflicting vengeance on such of the inhabitants of South Carolina as had been induced to join the American standard. The militia men he doomed to the gallows. The property of the fugitives and of the declared friends of independence he confiscated; and he seized a number of the most respectable citizens of Charleston, and most of the military officers residing there under the faith of the late capitulation, and sent them to St. Augustine.

Reduced to desperation by these injudicious severities, the bold and active among the patriots formed themselves anew into partisan bands under different chieftains, among whom Marion and Sumter were most distinguished by their spirit and enterprise. These bands harassed the scattered parties

of the British, several of which they cut off; and by their movements kept in check the royalists to the north of the Carolinas.

Eight of these leaders of partisan bands, having collected their forces to the amount of 1,600, made an attack on Major Ferguson with his detachment of royalists and regulars on the top of King's Mountain, October 7th. The Americans formed three parties: Colonel Lacy of South Carolina led one, which attacked on the west. The two others were commanded by Colonels Campbell and Cleveland; one of which attacked on the east, and the other in the centre.

On this occasion, Colonel Cleveland addressed his party in a harangue, which we copy from Dr. Ramsay's history, on account of the perfect idea it affords of the tactics of partisan warfare. It comprises the whole art of war of a bush fighter.

'My brave fellows! We have beat the Tories, and we can beat them. They are all cowards. If they had the spirit of men, they would join with their fellow citizens, in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged, you are not to wait the word of command from me. I will show you by my example how to fight. I can undertake no more. Every man must consider himself as an officer, and act from his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can, and stand as long as you can. When you can do no better, get behind trees, or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite off. If we be repulsed, let us make a point to return and renew the fight. Perhaps we may have better luck in the second attempt than in the first. If any of you be afraid, such have leave to retire; and they are requested immediately to take themselves off.'

These directions were literally followed in the battle. Ferguson attacked them with fixed bayonets, and compelled one party after another to retire; but they only retreated to a short distance, and getting behind trees and rocks renewed their fire in almost every direction. The British being uncovered were securely shot down by the assailants. Ferguson himself was killed and his men were compelled to surrender. Eight hundred became prisoners and 225 were killed or wounded.

This success was followed by important results. Lord Cornwallis had marched into North Carolina in the direction of Salisbury; but when he heard of the defeat and death of Ferguson, he retreated to Winsborough in the southern pro-

vince, being severely harassed in his retreat by the militia and the inhabitants; and when he retired into winter quarters, Sumter still kept the field.

In the meantime General Gates had collected another army, with which he advanced to Charlotte. Here he received intelligence that congress had resolved to supersede him, and to submit his conduct to a court of inquiry. This was the consequence of his defeat at Camden and of the general unsuccessful conduct of the campaign in the south. Mortified as he was by the withdrawal of his country's confidence, on receiving the notification of this resolve of the supreme power, he dutifully resigned his command. But on his way home from Carolina, his feelings were soothed by an address from the legislature of Virginia, assuring him that 'the remembrance of his former glorious services could not be obliterated by any reverse of fortune.'

While these events were occurring in the southern states, General Washington was obliged to confine himself to the irksome and inglorious task of watching from his encampment at Morristown, the motions of the British on New York island, and of restraining their incursions into the adjacent country. Though the army opposed to him was lessened by the detachment which Sir Henry Clinton led into South Carolina, his own forces were proportionably weakened by the reinforcements which it was necessary for him to send to the American army in the same quarter; and never did distress press more heavily upon him.

The depreciation of the currency was at that time so great, that four months pay of a private would not purchase a single bushel of wheat. His camp was sometimes destitute of meat, and sometimes of bread. As each state provided its own quota of troops, no uniformity could be established in the distribution of provisions. This circumstance aggravated the general discontent, and a spirit of mutiny began to display itself in two of the Connecticut regiments, which were with difficulty restrained from forcing their way home at the point of the bayonet.

On these discontents the enemy endeavoured to take advantage, by circulating in the American camp proclamations offering the most tempting gratifications to such of the continental troops as should desert the republican colours, and embrace the royal cause. But these offers were unavailing; mutinous as they were, the malcontents abhorred the thought

of joining the enemies of their country ; and on the seasonable arrival of a fresh supply of provisions they cheerfully returned to their duty.

Soon after this, when General Kniphausen, who commanded the British forces in the absence of Sir Henry Clinton, made an irruption into Jersey, on the 16th of June, the whole American army marched out to oppose him ; and though he was reinforced by Sir Henry Clinton, who, during this expedition had arrived from Charleston, he was compelled to measure back his steps. Both the advance and retreat of the German were marked by the devastation committed by his troops, who burnt the town of Springfield, and most of the houses on their line of march.

Alarmed by the representations made by General Washington, of the destitute condition of his army, congress sent three members of their body, with instructions to inquire into the condition of their forces, and with authority to reform abuses. These gentlemen fully verified the statements of the commander-in-chief. No sooner was this fact known in the city of Philadelphia, than a subscription was set on foot for the relief of the suffering soldiers, which soon amounted to 300,000 dollars. This sum was intrusted to the discretion of a well-chosen committee, who appropriated it to the purchase of provisions for the troops.

The commissioners also applied themselves diligently to the task of recruiting and reorganising the army. They prescribed to each state the quota of forces which it was to contribute towards the raising of 35,000 men, their deficiency in regulars being to be supplied by drafts from their respective militia. The states of New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia, promptly listened to the call of their country, and made extraordinary efforts to furnish their several quotas of recruits. The other members of the union exerted themselves to the best of their ability ; and although the general result of these exertions did not produce the number of troops which was deemed requisite for the public service, more could not, in such circumstances, have been expected.

The congress was the more earnest in their wishes to put their army on a respectable footing, as they were in expectation of the arrival of a body of auxiliary forces from France. This welcome aid appeared off Rhode Island on the 10th of July, 1780, on which day Monsieur Ternay sailed into the harbour of Newport, with a squadron of seven sail of the line,

five frigates and five schooners, convoying a fleet of transports, having on board 6,000 men, under the command of the Count de Rochambeau.

Admiral Arbuthnot, who had under his command at New York only four ships of the line, on hearing of the arrival of the French at Rhode Island, was apprehensive of being attacked by their superior force. But he was soon relieved from his fears by the vigilance of the British ministry, who, on the sailing of the French fleet from Europe, had sent to his assistance Admiral Graves, with six ships of the line.

On receiving this reinforcement, he sailed for Rhode Island, for the purpose of encountering the French squadron, whilst Sir Henry Clinton proceeded with 8,000 men to the north of Long Island, for the purpose of landing on the opposite part of the continent and attacking their land forces. But the British admiral found the French ships so well secured by batteries and other land fortifications, that he was obliged to content himself with blocking them up in their harbour; and Clinton, receiving intelligence that General Washington was preparing to take advantage of his absence, by making an attack on New York, hastened back to the relief of that place.

Washington, on the retreat of General Clinton, withdrew to West Point, an almost impregnable position, situated about fifty miles to the northward of New York, on the Hudson river, by means of which he kept up a communication between the eastern and southern states. Having occasion, towards the end of the month of September, to go to Rhode Island, to hold a conference with the French admiral and Count Rochambeau, he left the command of this important post to General Arnold, unconscious that in so doing he intrusted the fortunes of the infant republic to a traitor.

Arnold was brave and hardy, but dissipated and profligate. Extravagant in his expenses, he had involved himself in debts, and having had, on frequent occasions, the administration of considerable sums of the public money, his accounts were so unsatisfactory, that he was liable to an impeachment on charges of peculation. Much had been forgiven, indeed, and more would probably have been forgiven, to his valour and military skill. But alarmed by the terrors of a guilty conscience, he determined to get rid of pecuniary responsibility by betraying his country; and accordingly he entered into a negotiation with Sir Henry Clinton, in which he engaged, when a proper opportunity should present itself, to make such a

disposition of his troops as would enable the British to make themselves masters of West Point.

The details of this negotiation were conducted by Major André, the adjutant-general of the British army, with whom Arnold carried on a clandestine correspondence, addressing him under the name of Anderson, whilst he himself assumed that of Gustavus. To facilitate their communications, the Vulture sloop of war was moved near to West Point, and the absence of Washington seeming to present a fit opportunity for the final arrangement of their plans, on the night of the 21st of September Arnold sent a boat to the Vulture to bring André on shore.

That officer landed in his uniform, between the posts of the two armies, and was met by Arnold, with whom he held a conference which lasted till day-break, when it was too late for him to return to the vessel. In this extremity, unfortunately for himself, he allowed Arnold to conduct him within one of the American posts, where he lay concealed till the next night. In the meantime, the Vulture, having been incommoded by an American battery, had moved lower down the river, and the boatmen now refused to convey the stranger on board her.

Being cut off from this way of escape, André was advised to make for New York by land; and, for this purpose, he was furnished with a disguise, and a passport signed by Arnold, designating him as John Anderson. He had advanced in safety near the British lines, when he was stopped by three New York militia men, whose names were Paulding, Williams, and Vanwart. Instead of showing them his pass, he asked them 'where they belonged to?' and on their answering 'to below,' meaning to New York, with singular want of judgment he stated that he was a British officer, and begged them to let him proceed without delay.

The men, now declaring their real character, seized him; and notwithstanding his offer of a purse of gold, a valuable watch, and much larger bribes from his government, if they would release him, they proceeded to search him, and found in one of his boots certain papers which gave fatal evidence of his own culpability, and of Arnold's treachery. These papers were in Arnold's handwriting, and contained exact and detailed returns of the forces, ordnance and defences of West Point, and its dependencies, with the artillery orders, critical remarks on the works, an estimate of the number of

men that were ordinarily on duty to man them, and the copy of a state of matters that had, on the 6th of the month, been laid before a council of war by the commander-in-chief.

When André was conducted by his captors to the quarters of the commander of the scouting parties, still assuming the name of Anderson, he requested permission to write to Arnold, to inform him of his detention. This request was inconsiderately granted ; and the traitor being thus apprised of his peril, instantly made his escape. At this moment, Washington arriving at West Point, was made acquainted with the whole affair. Having taken the necessary precautions for the security of his post, he referred the case of his prisoner to a court-martial, consisting of fourteen general officers.

Before this tribunal André appeared with steady composure of mind. He voluntarily confessed all the facts of his case. Being interrogated by the board, with respect to his conception of his coming on shore under the sanction of a flag, he ingenuously replied, that 'if he had landed under that protection, he might have returned under it.' The court, having taken all the circumstances of the case into consideration, unanimously concurred in the opinion 'that he ought to be considered as a spy ; and that agreeably to the laws and usages of nations, he ought to suffer death.'

Sir Henry Clinton, first by amicable negotiation, and afterwards by threats, endeavoured to induce the American commander to spare the life of his friend ; but Washington did not think this act of mercy compatible with his duty to his country, and André was ordered for execution. He had petitioned to be allowed to die a soldier's death, but this request could not be granted. Of this circumstance, however, he was kept in ignorance, till he saw the preparations for his final catastrophe, when finding that the bitterness of his destiny was not to be alleviated as he wished, he exclaimed, 'It is but a momentary pang,' and calmly submitted to his fate.

No circumstance which occurred during the war was more trying to the feelings of Washington than this. The noble ingenuousness of André, his disinterested exertion to save his accomplice, by sending him intelligence of his capture, and his firmness in the last trying moments, all pronounced him worthy of a better fate. But his having consented in an evil hour to assume the detestable character of a spy, and an agent in a scheme of treason, placed him beyond the reach of

that mercy which the magnanimous Washington would have rejoiced to extend, if the safety of his country would have permitted it.

The treason of Arnold received the stipulated reward. He was immediately appointed brigadier-general in the service of the king of Great Britain; and, on his promotion he had the folly and presumption to publish an address, in which he avowed, that, being dissatisfied with the alliance between the United States and France, 'he had retained his arms and command for an opportunity to surrender them to Great Britain.' This address was exceeded in meanness and insolence by another, in which he invited his late companions in arms to follow his example. The American soldiers read these manifestoes with scorn; and so odious did the character of a traitor, as exemplified in the conduct of Arnold, become in their estimation, that 'desertion wholly ceased amongst them at this remarkable period of the war.'

Circumstances, however, took place soon after the discovery of Arnold's treason, which led that renegade to entertain delusive hopes that the army of Washington would disband itself. The Pennsylvania troops, then stationed on the Hudson, had been enlisted on the ambiguous terms of 'serving three years, or during the continuance of the war.' As the three years from the date of their enrolment were expired, they claimed their discharge, which was refused by the officers, who maintained that the option of the two above-mentioned conditions rested with the state.

Wearied out with privations, and indignant at what they deemed an attempt to impose upon them, the soldiers flew to arms, deposed their officers, and under the guidance of others whom they elected in their place, they quitted Morristown and marched to Princeton. Here they were solicited by the most tempting offers on the part of some emissaries sent by Sir Henry Clinton, to put themselves under the protection of the British government. But they were so far from listening to these overtures, that they arrested Sir Henry's agents, and, their grievances having been redressed by the interposition of a committee of congress, they returned to their duty, and the British spies, having been tried by a board of officers, were condemned to death and executed.

A similar revolt of a small body of the Jersey line was quelled by the capital punishment of two of the ringleaders of the mutineers. The distresses, which were the chief cause

of this misconduct of the American soldiery, were principally occasioned by the depreciation of the continental currency ; which evil at this period effected its own cure, as the depreciated paper was by common consent, and without any act of the legislature, put out of use ; and by a seasonable loan from France, and by the revival of trade with the French and Spanish West Indies, its place was speedily supplied by hard money.

CHAPTER XXXI.

CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

THIS was the last campaign of the revolutionary war. Its events decided the contest in favour of American independence.

Though the Spaniards and the Dutch had united with France in hostility against Great Britain, she still with unconquered spirit everywhere made head against her foreign enemies ; and the king's ministers were now, more than ever, determined by an extension of combined measures, to reduce the North American provinces to submission. The plan of the campaign of 1781, accordingly, comprehended active operations in the state of New York, South Carolina, and Virginia.

The invasion of the last-mentioned state was intrusted to Arnold, who, taking with him a force of 1,600 men, and a number of armed vessels, sailed up the Chesapeake, spreading terror and devastation wherever he came. An attempt to intercept him was made by the French fleet, which sailed from Rhode Island for that purpose ; but after an indecisive engagement with the fleet of Admiral Arbuthnot, off the capes of Virginia, was obliged to return to Newport, leaving the invaded state open to the incursions of the British, who, making occasional advances into the country, destroyed an immense quantity of public stores, and enriched themselves with an extensive plunder of private property, at the same time burning all the shipping in the Chesapeake and its tributary streams, which they could not conveniently carry away as prizes.

The Carolinas also suffered severely by the scourge of war. When Gates was removed from the command of the American forces in that district, he was succeeded by General Greene, to whose charge he transferred the poor remains of his army, which were collected at Charlotte, in North Carolina, and which amounted to 2,000 men. These troops were imperfectly armed and badly clothed; and such was the poverty of the military chest, that they were obliged to supply themselves with provisions by forced requisitions made upon the inhabitants of the adjacent country.

In these circumstances, to encounter the superior forces of the enemy in pitched battle, would have been madness. Greene, therefore, resolved to carry on the war as a partisan officer, and to avail himself of every opportunity of harassing the British in detail.

The first enterprise which he undertook in prosecution of this system, was eminently successful. Understanding that the inhabitants of the district of Ninety-Six, who had submitted to the royal authority, were severely harassed by the licensed acts of plunder committed by the king's troops and the royalists, he sent General Morgan into that quarter with a small detachment, which was, on its arrival speedily increased by the oppressed countrymen, who were burning for revenge.

Lord Cornwallis, who was at this moment on the point of invading North Carolina, no sooner heard of this movement, than he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton, with 1,100 men, to drive Morgan out of the district. Tarleton was an active partisan officer, and had been as successful in his various encounters with the republican troops, as he had been cruel and sanguinary in the use of his victories. His former success, however, and the superiority of his numbers to those of Morgan's forces, caused him too much to despise his enemy.

In pursuance of Lord Cornwallis's orders he marched in quest of his antagonist, and on the evening of the 16th of January, 1781, he arrived at the ground which General Morgan had quitted a few hours before. At two o'clock in the morning, he recommenced his pursuit of the Americans, marching with extraordinary rapidity through a very difficult country, and at daylight he discovered the detachment of Morgan in his front. From the intelligence obtained from the prisoners who were taken by his scouting parties, he learned that Morgan waited his attack at a place called the Cowpens, near Pacolet river.

Here the American commander had drawn up his little army, two-thirds of which consisted of militia, in two lines, the first of which was advanced about 200 yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second, in case the onset of the enemy should oblige them to retire. The rear was closed by a small body of regular cavalry, and about forty-five mounted militia men.

On the sight of this array, Tarleton ordered his troops to form in line. But before this arrangement was effected, that officer, obeying the dictates of rash valour rather than those of prudence, commenced the attack, heading his squadron in person. The British advanced with a shout, and assailed their adversaries with a well-directed discharge of musketry. The Americans reserved their fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards of their ranks, and then poured among them a volley which did considerable execution. The British, however, pushed on, and obliged the militia to retire from the field. They then assailed the second line, and compelled it to fall back on the cavalry.

Here the Americans rallied, and renewed the fight with desperate valour: charging the enemy with fixed bayonets, they drove back the advance, and, following up their success, overthrew the masses of their opponents, as they presented themselves in succession, and finally won a complete and decisive victory. Tarleton fled from the bloody field, leaving his artillery and baggage in possession of the Americans. His loss amounted to 300 killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners, whilst that of the Americans was only 12 killed and 60 wounded.

Immediately after the action, General Greene sent off the prisoners, under a proper guard, in the direction of Virginia; and as soon as he had made the requisite arrangements, he followed them with his little army, leaving Morgan on the Catawba, watching the motions of the enemy.

On receiving intelligence of Tarleton's defeat, Lord Cornwallis hastened in pursuit of the victors, and forced his marches with such effect, that he reached the Catawba river on the evening of the day on which Morgan had crossed it; but here his progress was for a short time impeded, as a heavy fall of rain had rendered the stream impassable. When the waters subsided, he hurried on, hoping to overtake the Americans before they crossed the Yadkin; but when he arrived at that river he found, to his mortification, that they had

crossed it, and had secured the craft and boats, which they had used for that purpose, on the eastern bank. He, therefore, marched higher up the stream till he found the river fordable.

Whilst he was employed in this circuitous movement, General Greene had united his forces with those of Morgan, at Guildford Court-house. Still, however, the forces of the American commander were so far inferior to those of the enemy, that, not choosing to risk an engagement, he hastened straight onwards to the river Dan, whilst Lord Cornwallis, traversing the upper country, where the streams are fordable, proceeded, in the hope that he might gain upon the Americans, so as to overtake them, in consequence of their being obstructed in their progress by the deep water below.

But so active was General Greene, and so fortunate in finding the means of conveyance, that he crossed the Dan, in Virginia, with his whole army, artillery and baggage. So narrow, however, was his escape, that the van of Cornwallis's army arrived in time to witness the ferrying over of his rear.

Mortified as Lord Cornwallis was, by being thus disappointed of the fruits of his toilsome march, he consoled himself by the reflection that the American army being thus driven out of North Carolina, he was master of that state, and was in a condition to recruit his forces by the accession of the loyalists, with whom he had been led to believe that it abounded. He, therefore, summoned all true subjects of his majesty to repair to the royal standard, which he had erected at Hillsborough. That experiment had little success. The friends of the British government were in general timid, and diffident of his lordship's power ultimately to protect them. Their terrors were confirmed when they learned that the indefatigable Greene had recrossed the Dan, and had cut off a body of royalists who were on their march to join the royal forces, and that he had compelled Tarleton to retreat from the frontier of the province to Hillsborough. For seven days the American commander manœuvred within ten miles of the British camp; and at the end of that time, having received reinforcements from Virginia, he resolved to give Lord Cornwallis battle.

The engagement took place on the 15th of March, near Guildford Court-house. The American army consisted of 4,400 men, of which, more than one-half were militia; and the British of 2,400 veterans; after a brisk cannonade in front the militia in advance were thrown into some confusion by the

rash folly of a colonel, who, on the advance of the enemy, called out to an officer, at some distance, that 'he would be surrounded.' This alarm caused the North Carolina militia to fly. The Virginia militia, and the continental troops, maintained the conflict spiritedly for an hour and a half; but the discipline of the veteran British troops at length prevailed, and the Americans were obliged to retire; but only to the distance of three miles.

All the advantages of victory were on the side of the Americans, for although Lord Cornwallis kept the field, he had suffered such loss in the action, that he was unable to act on the offensive directly after, and was soon compelled to march towards Wilmington, leaving his sick and wounded behind him. On this retreat he was pursued by General Greene as far as Deep River.

At Wilmington, Lord Cornwallis made a halt for three days, for the purpose of giving his troops some rest; and at the end of that time, resolving to carry the war into Virginia, he marched to Petersburg, an inland town of that state, situated on James river. Hither it was expected that he would have been followed by the Americans; but Greene, being aware that his lordship had by this movement approached nearer to the American main army, and confident that his movements would be closely watched by the Virginia militia, after mature consideration, adopted the bold measure of again penetrating into South Carolina.

That state was in the military occupation of the British, who were, indeed, harassed by the partisan troops of Marion and Sumter, but were in such apparent strength, that there was reason to fear that the republicans, if not aided by further support, would abandon the cause of their country in despair. The British had formed chains of posts, which, extending from the sea to the western extremity of the state, maintained a mutual communication by strong patrols of bodies of horse.

The first of these lines of defence was established on the Wateree, on the banks of which river the British occupied the well-fortified town of Camden, and Fort Watson, situated between that place and Charleston. The attack on the fort, Greene intrusted to Marion, who soon compelled its garrison to surrender on capitulation.

In encountering Lord Rawdon, near Camden, Greene was not so fortunate. In consequence of the unsteadiness of a few of his troops, he was defeated, but moved off the ground in

such good order, that he saved his artillery, and though wounded, he took up a position, at the distance of about five miles from Camden, from which he sent out parties to intercept the supplies, of which he was apprised that his antagonist was in the utmost need.

In consequence of the vigilance of Greene in cutting off his resources, and of the loss of Fort Watson, which had been the link of his communication with Charleston, Lord Rawdon, after having in vain endeavoured to bring on a second general engagement with the Americans, was reduced to the necessity of destroying a part of his baggage, and retreating to the south side of the river Santee. This retrograde movement encouraged the friends of congress to resume their arms, and hasten to reinforce the corps of Marion, who speedily made himself master of the British posts on the Congaree, the garrisons of which were in general made prisoners, whilst those who escaped that fate by a timely evacuation of their positions, made good their retreat to Charleston.

Savannah river now presented the last line of defence held by the British, who there possessed the town of Augusta, and the post of Ninety-Six. The former of those places was attacked by Colonel Lee, and after a very obstinate defence on the part of the commander, Colonel Brown, it surrendered on honourable terms.

The important post of Ninety-Six, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, was strongly fortified, and defended by 500 men. On reconnoitering the place, General Greene, whose army was not much more numerous than the garrison, determined to besiege it in form. He accordingly broke ground on the 25th of May, and pushed his works with such vigour, that he had approached within six yards of the ditch, and had erected a mound 30 feet high, from which his riflemen poured their shot with fatal aim upon the opposite parapet of the enemy, who were hourly expected to beat a parley.

But this bright prospect of success was at once overclouded by the arrival of intelligence, that Lord Rawdon, having received reinforcements from Ireland, was hastening to the relief of his countrymen, at the head of 2,000 men. In this extremity Greene made a desperate effort to carry the place by assault, but was repulsed, and evacuating the works which he had constructed with so much labour, he retreated to the northward, across the Saluda, whence he was followed by Lord Rawdon beyond the Ennoree.

The feelings of the American commander on seeing the fruit of his toils thus suddenly and unexpectedly torn from his grasp, must have been of a most agonising nature. But Greene was gifted with an elasticity of spirit which prevented him from yielding to the pressure of misfortune, and his opponents seldom found him more dangerous than immediately after suffering a defeat. On the present occasion, when some of his counsellors advised him to retreat to Virginia, he firmly replied, 'I will recover South Carolina, or die in the attempt.'

On maturely deliberating on the object of the campaign, and the relative situation of himself and the enemy, he was well aware that though Lord Rawdon was superior to him in the number as well as the discipline of his troops, yet if his lordship kept his army concentrated, he could afford no encouragement, or even protection, to the royalists, and that if it were divided, it might be beaten in detail. As he expected, the British commander, finding he could not bring him to an engagement, took the latter course, and withdrawing a detachment from Ninety-Six, re-established himself on the line of the Congaree.

Within two days, however, after his arrival at the banks of that river, he was astonished to find his indefatigable enemy in his front, with numbers so recruited, that he thought it prudent to decline the battle which was offered him, and retreated to Orangeburgh, where he was joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, who, in the present circumstances, had thought it prudent to evacuate his post at Ninety-Six. On the junction of the forces of these two commanders, Greene retired to the heights above Santee, whence he sent his active coadjutors, Marion and Sumter, with strong scouting parties, to intercept the communication between Orangeburgh and Charleston.

As a last effort to maintain their influence in the centre of the state, the British took post in force, near the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree; but on the approach of Greene, they retreated for the space of 40 miles, and waited his threatened attack at the Eutaw springs. Greene advanced with 2,000 men to attack them. The action was severe, and the Americans, both continental troops and militia, displayed the greatest intrepidity. The British were finally compelled to give way, and fled on all sides. Their loss, inclusive of prisoners, was 1,100 men; that of the Americans was above 500, of which number 60 were officers. After this signal defeat, the British were glad to abandon the interior of

South Carolina to the victorious patriots, and take shelter in Charleston.

Of all the incidents of the American revolutionary war, the most brilliant is this campaign of General Greene. At the head of a beaten army, undisciplined and badly equipped, he entered the state of South Carolina, which was occupied, from its eastern to its western extremity, by an enemy much superior to him in numbers, in appointments, and in military experience. But by his genius, his courage, and his perseverance, he broke their lines of operation, drove them from post to post, and though defeated in the field, he did not cease to harass them in detail, till he had driven them within the fortifications of the capital.

Well did he merit the gold medal and the British standard bestowed on him by a vote of congress on this occasion. By his successes he revived the drooping spirits of the friends of independence in the southern states, and prepared the way for the final victories which awaited the arms of his country in Virginia, and which led to the happy termination of the war.

Whilst the American commander was enjoying the honours bestowed on him by his grateful countrymen, as the just meed of his valour and skill in arms, Lord Rawdon, soon after his return to Charleston, by an example of severity, brought odium on the British cause, and fired the breasts of the continentals with indignation. Amongst the American officers who distinguished themselves in the defence of South Carolina was Colonel Hayne, a gentleman of fortune, and of considerable influence in his neighbourhood. After the capitulation of Charleston, Hayne voluntarily surrendered himself to the British authorities, requesting to be allowed his personal liberty on parole. This indulgence, usually granted to officers of rank, he could not obtain; and was told that he must either take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, or submit to close confinement.

In an evil hour, induced by family considerations, he chose the former alternative, and signed a declaration of fealty to George III. protesting, however, against the clause which required him to support the royal government with arms; which clause the officer who received his submission, assured him it was not intended to enforce. The officer in question, no doubt, in this assurance exceeded his authority, and Hayne was some time after summoned to join the royal standard.

Regarding this as a breach of the contract into which he had entered with the British, he again took up arms on the side of independence, and having been taken prisoner in a skirmish with part of the royal forces, he was, without the formality of a trial, ordered for execution by Lord Rawdon. To the petition of this unfortunate officer's family, as well as those of the inhabitants of Charleston, his lordship turned a deaf ear, and Hayne suffered as a rebel and a traitor. The death of this gallant soldier has left an eternal stigma on the character of Lord Rawdon. It was a measure dictated by savage cruelty and revenge, and founded on no principle either of justice or policy.

It has already been related, that after the battle of Guilford Lord Cornwallis marched to Petersburg in Virginia. His lordship did not take this step without hesitation. He well knew the enterprising character of his opponent, and was aware of the probability of his making an incursion into South Carolina. He flattered himself, however, that the forces which he had left in that state, under the command of Lord Rawdon, would suffice to keep the Americans in check. In this idea he was confirmed by the result of the battle of Camden, and by the receipt of intelligence that three British regiments, which had sailed from Cork, might be expected speedily to arrive at Charleston.

No longer anxious, therefore, for the fate of South Carolina, he determined to march forwards, in the confident hope of increasing his military renown by the conquest of Virginia. He accordingly advanced with rapidity from Petersburg to Manchester, on James River, with a view of crossing over from that place to Richmond, for the purpose of seizing a large quantity of stores and provisions, which had been deposited there by the Americans. But on his arrival at Manchester, he had the mortification to find that, on the day before, this depot had been removed by the Marquis de la Fayette, who, at the command of congress, had hastened from the head of Elk to oppose him.

Having crossed James River at Westown, his lordship marched through Hanover county to the South Anna River, followed at a guarded distance by the marquis, who, in this critical contingency, finding his forces inferior to those of the enemy, wisely restrained the vivacity which is the usual characteristic of his age and country. But having effected a junction with General Wayne, which brought his numbers

nearly to an equality with those of the British, and having once more, by a skilful manœuvre, saved his stores, which had been removed to Albemarle old Court-house, he displayed so bold a front, that the British commander fell back to Richmond, and thence to Williamsburgh.

On his arrival at the latter place, Lord Cornwallis received despatches from Sir Henry Clinton, requiring him to send instantly from his army a detachment to the relief of New York, which was threatened with a combined attack by the French and the Americans. The consequent diminution of his force induced his lordship to cross James River, and to march in the direction of Portsmouth. Before, however, the reinforcements destined for New York had sailed, he received counter orders and instructions from Sir Henry Clinton, in pursuance of which he conveyed his army, amounting to 7,000 men, to Yorktown, which place he proceeded to fortify with the utmost skill and industry.

The object of Lord Cornwallis in thus posting himself at Yorktown, was to co-operate in the subjugation of Virginia with a fleet which he was led to expect would about this time proceed from the West Indies to the Chesapeake. Whilst his lordship was anxiously looking for the British pennants, he had the mortification, on the 30th of August, to see the Count de Grasse sailing up the bay with 28 sail of the line, three of which, accompanied by a proper number of frigates, were immediately despatched to block up York river.

The French vessels had no sooner anchored, than they landed a force of 3,200 men, who, under the command of the Marquis of St. Simon, effected a junction with the army of La Fayette, and took post at Williamsburgh. Soon after this operation, the hopes of the British were revived by the appearance off the capes of Virginia, of Admiral Graves, with 20 sail of the line, a force which seemed to be competent to extricate Lord Cornwallis from his difficult position. These hopes, however, proved delusive.

On the 7th of September, M. de Grasse encountered the British fleet, and a distant fight took place, in which the French seemed to rely more on their manœuvring than on their valour. The reason of this was soon apparent. In the course of the night that followed the action, a squadron of 8 line-of-battle ships safely passed the British, and joined De Grasse, in consequence of which accession of strength to his antagonist, Admiral Graves thought it prudent to quit

that part of the coast, and retire to New York. This impediment to their operations having been removed, the Americans and French directed the whole of their united efforts to the capture of Yorktown.

This had not, however, been the original design of General Washington at the commencement of the campaign. Early in the spring, he had agreed with Count Rochambeau to lay siege to New York, in concert with a French fleet which was expected to reach the neighbourhood of Staten Island in the month of August. He had accordingly issued orders for considerable reinforcements, especially of militia, to join his army in proper time to commence the projected operations.

The French troops under Rochambeau having arrived punctually at his encampment near Peekskill, General Washington advanced to King's Bridge, and hemmed in the British on York Island. Every preparation seemed now to be in forwardness for the commencement of the siege; but the militia came in tardily. The adjacent states were dilatory in sending in their quotas of troops; and whilst he was impatiently awaiting their arrival, Washington had the mortification to receive intelligence that Clinton had obtained a reinforcement of 3,000 Germans.

Whilst his mind was agitated by this disappointment, and chagrined by that want of zeal on the part of the middle states, which he apprehended could not but bring discredit on his country, in the estimation of his allies, he was relieved from his distresses by the news of the success of Greene in driving Lord Cornwallis into Yorktown; and, at the same time learning that the destination of Count de Grasse was the Chesapeake, and not Staten Island, he resolved to transfer his operations to the state of Virginia. Still, however, he kept up an appearance of persevering in his original intention of making an attack upon New York, and in this feint he was aided by the circumstance, that when this was in reality his design, a letter in which he detailed his plans for its prosecution, had been intercepted and read by Sir Henry Clinton.

When, therefore, in the latter end of August, he broke up his encampment at Peekskill, and directed his march to the south, the British commander, imagining that this movement was only a stratagem calculated to throw him off his guard, and that the Americans and French would speedily return to take advantage of his expected negligence, remained in his quarters, and redoubled his exertions to strengthen his posi-

tion. In consequence of this error, he lost the opportunity of impeding the march of the allied army, and of availing himself of the occasions, which might have presented themselves, of bringing it to action before it could effect a junction with the troops already assembled in the vicinity of Yorktown.

As soon, however, as Sir Henry Clinton was convinced of General Washington's intention of proceeding to the southward, with a view of bringing him back, he employed Arnold, with a sufficient naval and military force, on an expedition against New London. Arnold passed from Long Island, and on the forenoon of the 6th of September landed his troops on both sides of the harbour; those on the New London side being under his own immediate orders, and those on the Groton side under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre.

As the works at New London were very imperfect, no vigorous resistance was there made, and the place was taken possession of with little loss. But Fort Griswold, on the Groton side, was in a more finished state, and the small garrison made a most spirited resistance. It was finally carried at the point of the bayonet; when, though opposition had ceased, a most cruel and murderous carnage ensued. A British officer inquired who commanded the fort. Colonel Ledyard answered, 'I did, but you do now,' at the same time surrendering his sword. The officer seized it and instantly plunged it in the bosom of the brave patriot. His troops were not backward in following this atrocious example. Of the 160 men composing the garrison, but forty were spared. The loss of the British was considerable. The town of New London and a large amount of valuable property were then destroyed. After this characteristic proceeding, the traitor Arnold returned with his troops to New York.

This predatory excursion had no effect in diverting General Washington from his purpose, or in retarding his progress southward. He marched on without molestation, and reached Williamsburgh on the 14th of September, and immediately on his arrival, with General Knox, Count Rochambeau and other officers, visited the Count de Grasse on board his flag ship, the *Ville de Paris*, and settled with him the plan of their future operations.

In pursuance of this arrangement, the combined forces, to the amount of 12,000 men, assembled at Williamsburgh, on the 25th of September; and on the 30th of the same month marched forward to invest Yorktown, whilst the French fleet,

moving to the mouth of York river, cut off Lord Cornwallis from any communication with a friendly force by water.

His lordship's garrison amounted to 7,000 men, and the place was strongly fortified. On the right it was secured by a marshy ravine, extending to such a distance along the front of the defences as to leave them accessible only to the extent of about 1,500 yards. This space was defended by strong lines, beyond which, on the extreme left, were advanced two redoubts, which enfiladed their approach to Gloucester Point, on the other side of York river, the channel of which is here narrowed to the breadth of a mile, which post was also sufficiently garrisoned, and strongly fortified. Thus secured in his position, Lord Cornwallis beheld the approach of the enemy with firmness, especially as he had received despatches from Sir Henry Clinton, announcing his intention of sending 5,000 men, in a fleet of 23 ships of the line, to his relief.

The allied forces on their arrival from Williamsburgh immediately commenced the investure both of Yorktown and Gloucester Point, and on the 10th of October, they opened their batteries with such effect, that their shells, flying over the town, reached the shipping in the harbour, and set fire to the Charon frigate, and to a transport. On that day, too, Lord Cornwallis received a communication from Sir Henry Clinton, conveying to him the unwelcome intelligence that he doubted whether it would be in his power to send him the aid which he had promised.

On the following morning, the allied army commenced their second parallel, and finding themselves in this advanced position, severely annoyed by the two redoubts which have been mentioned above, they resolved to storm them. In order to render available the spirit of emulation which existed between the troops of the allied nations, and to avoid any causes of jealousy to either, the attack of the one was committed to the French, and that of the other to the Americans. The latter were commanded by the Marquis de la Fayette, and the former by the Baron Viominel.

On the evening of the 14th, as soon as it was dark, the parties marched to the assault with unloaded arms. The redoubt which the Americans attacked was defended by a major, some inferior officers, and 45 privates. The assailants, advanced with such rapidity, without returning a shot to the heavy fire with which they were received, that in a few minutes they were in possession of the work, having had eight

men killed and 28 wounded in the attack. Eight British privates were killed, the major, some other officers, and 17 privates, were made prisoners, and the rest escaped. Although the Americans were highly exasperated by the recent massacre of their countrymen in Fort Griswold by Arnold's detachment, yet not a man of the British was injured after resistance had ceased. Retaliation had been talked of, but was not exercised.

The French party advanced with equal courage and rapidity, and were successful; but as the fortification which they attacked was occupied by a greater force, the defence was more vigorous, and the loss of the assailants more severe. There were 120 men in the redoubt, of whom 18 were killed and 42 taken prisoners; the rest made their escape. The French lost nearly 100 men killed or wounded. During the night these two redoubts were included in the second parallel; and in the course of the next day, some howitzers were placed on them, which in the afternoon opened on the besieged.

On the 16th of October, a sally was made from the garrison, but with indifferent success; and Lord Cornwallis was now convinced that he could only avoid surrender by effecting his escape by Gloucester Point. Seeing himself, therefore, reduced to the necessity of trying this desperate expedient, he prepared as many boats as he could procure, and on the night of the 16th of October attempted to convey his army over York river to the opposite promontory. But the elements were adverse to his operations. The first division of his troops was disembarked in safety; but when the second was on its passage, a storm of wind and rain arose, and drove it down the river.

Though this second embarkation worked its way back to Yorktown on the morning of the 17th, Lord Cornwallis was convinced, however unwillingly, that protracted resistance was vain. No aid appeared from New York—his works were ruined—the fire from the besiegers' batteries swept the town; and sickness had diminished the effective force of the garrison. In these circumstances, nothing remained for him but to negotiate terms of capitulation.

He accordingly sent a flag of truce, and having agreed to give up his troops as prisoners of war to congress, and the naval force to France, he, on the 19th of October, marched out of his lines with folded colours; and proceeding to a field at a short distance from the town, he surrendered to General

Lincoln, with the same formalities which had been prescribed to that officer at Charleston, eighteen months before.

Another coincidence was remarked on this occasion. The capitulation under which Lord Cornwallis surrendered was drawn up by Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens; whose father had filled the office of president of congress, and having been taken prisoner when on his voyage to Holland, in quality of ambassador from the United States to the Dutch Republic, had been consigned under a charge of high treason, to a rigorous custody in the tower of London, of which fortress his lordship was constable.

Had Lord Cornwallis been able to hold out five days longer than he did, he might possibly have been relieved; for on the 24th of October a British fleet, conveying an army of 7,000 men, arrived off the Chesapeake; but finding that his lordship had already surrendered, this armament returned to New York and Sandy Hook.

It was with reason that congress passed a vote of thanks to the captors of Yorktown, and that they went in procession on the 24th of October, to celebrate the triumph of their arms, by expressing, in the solemnities of a religious service, their gratitude to Almighty God for this signal success. The surrender of Lord Cornwallis was the virtual termination of the war.

From this time forward, to the signature of the treaty of peace, the British were cooped up in New York, Charleston, and Savannah. From these posts they now and then, indeed, made excursions for the purpose of foraging and plunder; but being utterly unable to appear in force in the interior of the country, they found themselves incompetent to carry on any operations calculated to promote the main object of the war—the subjugation of the United States. Perseverance, however, still seemed a virtue to the British cabinet. Immediately after the arrival of intelligence of the capture by the Americans of a second British army, George III. declared, in a speech to parliament, ‘that he should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, if he consented to sacrifice, either to his own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of the country must for ever depend.’

When called upon, in the house of commons, for an expla-

nation of this vague and assuming language, Lord North avowed that it was the intention of ministers to carry on in North America 'a war of posts;' and such was, at that moment, the state of the house, that, in despite of the eloquence of Mr. Fox, who laboured to demonstrate the absurdity of this new plan, a majority of 218 to 129 concurred in an address, which was an echo of the king's speech.

But the loud murmurs of the people, groaning beneath the weight of taxation, and indignant under a sense of national misrule, at length penetrated the walls of the senate-house. Early in the year 1782, motion after motion was made in the house of commons, expressive of the general wish for the termination of hostilities with the United States. The minister held out with obstinacy, though on each renewal of the debate, he saw his majority diminish; till at length, on the 27th of February, on a motion of General Conway, expressly directed against the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, he was left in a minority of nineteen.

This victory was followed up by an address from the house to his majesty, in favour of peace. To this address so equivocal an answer was returned by the crown, that the friends of pacification deemed it necessary to speak in still plainer terms; and on the 4th of March, the house of commons declared, that whosoever should advise his majesty to any further prosecution of offensive war against the colonies of North America, should be considered as a public enemy.

This was the death blow of Lord North's administration. His lordship retired from office early in the month of March, and was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, the efforts of whose ministry were as much and as cordially directed to peace as those of Lord Sherburne's. On the death of the marquis, which took place soon after he had assumed the reins of government, the Earl of Sherburne was called on to preside over his majesty's councils, which, under his auspices, were directed to the great object of pacification.

To this all the parties interested were well inclined. The English nation was weary of a civil war in which it had experienced so many discomfitures. The king of France, who had reluctantly consented to aid the infant republic of North America, was mortified by the destruction of the fleet of De Grasse, in the West Indies, whither he had sailed after the fall of Yorktown, and been defeated by Rodney. The Spaniards

were disheartened by the failure of their efforts to repossess themselves of Gibraltar; and the Dutch were impatient under the suspension of their commerce.

Such being the feelings of the belligerents, the negotiations for a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, were opened at Paris, by Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, on the part of the former power, and by John Adams, Doctor Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, on behalf of the latter.

After a tedious and intricate negotiation, in which the firmness, judgment and penetration of the American commissioners were fully exercised, preliminary articles of peace were signed on the 30th of November, 1782; and news of the conclusion of a general peace reached the United States early next April.

By this provisional treaty the independence of the thirteen United States was unreservedly acknowledged by his Britannic majesty, who moreover conceded to them an unlimited right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland and the river St. Lawrence, and all other places where they had been accustomed to fish. All that the British plenipotentiaries could obtain for the American loyalists was, a provision that congress should earnestly recommend to the legislatures of their respective states the most lenient consideration of their case, and a restitution of their confiscated property.

The independence of the United States was acknowledged, and peace with Great Britain had been concluded; but the dangers of America were not at an end. She had succeeded in repelling foreign aggression; but was threatened with ruin by internal dissension.

In the interval between the cessation of hostilities and the disbanding of the troops, congress found itself in a trying and perilous situation. The army was in a state of high dissatisfaction and irritation. In October, 1780, a season of danger and alarm, congress promised half pay to the officers on the conclusion of peace. The resolution to this effect not having been ratified by the requisite number of states, was in danger of remaining a dead letter. In the month of December, 1782, soon after going into winter quarters, the officers had presented a memorial and petition to congress, and deputed a committee of their number, to call its attention to the subject. Their request was, that all arrears due to them might be paid, and that instead of granting them half pay for life, congress

would allow them five years of full pay when the army should be disbanded.

The unwarrantable delay of congress in granting this very reasonable request of those who had shed their blood and spent their fortunes and the best portion of their lives in defending the country, excited a serious commotion in that part of the army which was stationed at Newburg. In March, 1783, an ably written address, appealing strongly to their indignant feelings, and recommending an appeal to the *fears* of congress, was privately distributed among the officers; and at the same time a meeting of the officers was proposed, for the purpose of considering the means of obtaining redress. The sensation caused by the injustice of congress, was increased to an alarming degree; by this eloquent address, and it is difficult to say what might have been the result of the proposed meeting, had not the commander-in-chief fortunately been on the spot.

Washington clearly saw the danger, and prohibited the meeting; but deeming it safer to direct and weaken the current, than immediately to oppose it, he appointed a similar meeting on a subsequent day. General Gates, as the senior officer of rank, presided. General Washington, who had been diligent in preparing the minds of the officers for the occasion, addressed the assembly, strongly combated the address, and, by his sound reasoning and high influential character, succeeded in dissipating the storm.

These proceedings of the officers induced congress to pay some regard to its promises, and to grant their request for a commutation of half pay for a sum equal to five years full pay. The disbanding of the army, which was still in a state of irritation, from having large arrears of pay, and many of them not money enough to supply their most pressing wants, was a dangerous experiment. Other armies disbanded under such circumstances had often formed themselves into companies of free-booters, and ravaged the country they had previously defended. But congress understood the true character of their patriot army, and boldly ran the risk of dismissing it unpaid. No convulsion followed. The soldiers quietly returned to their homes, and resumed the arts of peace, content with the humblest lot in the land, which they had just freed from foreign enemies, and placed among the most highly favoured nations of the earth. Previous to this event, however, on the 19th of April, 1783, the day which completed the

eighth year of the war, the cessation of hostilities with Great Britain was, by order of General Washington, proclaimed in the American camp.

The American forces still remained at their posts, awaiting the entire removal of the enemy's troops from the country. On the 25th of November, the British troops evacuated New York, and an American detachment, under General Knox, took possession of the town. General Washington and Governor Clinton, accompanied by a number of civil and military officers and respectable citizens, soon afterwards entered the city; and the Americans, after a struggle which had lasted eight years, thus gained full and undisputed possession of the entire territory of the United States.

General Washington's military career was now about to close; and on the 4th of December, 1783, he met the principal officers of the army at Francis' tavern, in New York. The officers assembled at noon, and their revered and beloved commander soon entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed; filling a glass, and addressing the officers, he said, 'With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you, and devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been honourable.' Having drank, he added, 'I cannot come to take each of you by the hand, but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' In the midst of profound silence, and with the liveliest sensibility and tenderness, each of the officers took him by the hand; and at the close of the affecting ceremony, they all accompanied him to Whitehall, where a barge was in readiness to carry him across the river. Having embarked, General Washington turned round to his late companions in arms, took off his hat, respectfully bowed to them, and bade them a silent farewell. They returned the compliment, and went back in mute procession to the place where they had assembled.

Congress was then sitting at Annapolis, in Maryland, and thither General Washington proceeded, for the purpose of resigning that power which he had so successfully exercised. He remained a few days in Philadelphia, in order to settle his accounts with the treasury; and on the 19th of December, arrived at Annapolis.

At noon on the 23rd, in presence of a numerous company of spectators, he resigned his commission into the hands of

congress, and afterwards retired to his mansion at Mount Vernon.

‘In the course of the revolution,’ says a foreign writer, ‘a number of men of no mean abilities arose, both in the military and civil departments; but General Washington appears with pre-eminent lustre among them all; not by the brilliancy of his genius, but by the soundness of his understanding, and the moral dignity of his character. His courage was unquestionable, but it was governed by discretion. He was not remarkable for quickness of perception or apprehension; but, when he had time to deliberate, he was judicious in his decision. His glory, however, lies in the moral excellence of his character, his spotless integrity, disinterested patriotism, general humanity, invincible fortitude, and inflexible perseverance. In trying times, he occupied the most difficult situation in which a man can be placed. At the head of a turbulent soldiery, unaccustomed to military subordination, he was exposed on the one side to the clamours and calumnies of an ignorant and fluctuating populace, who were forward to condemn the wisdom which they had not the capacity to comprehend, and to reprobate plans which did not suit their little interests and feeble judgments. On the other side he was fettered by the presumption of rulers, who were forward to decide on what they did not understand, to enjoin measures the consequences of which they did not foresee, and to dictate on subjects of which they had but a very imperfect knowledge. He was unmoved by the clamours of the former; and he bore, with invincible patience, the aberrations of the latter; he remonstrated and reasoned with them, and often succeeded in setting them right. With a steady hand he steered the vessel amidst the terrors of the storm, and through fearful breakers brought it safe into port. America owes him much, and seems not insensible of the obligation. She has done honour to him and to herself, by calling her capital by his name; but it would be still far more honourable and advantageous to her, were all her people to imitate his virtues, and the character of every American to reflect the moral image of General Washington.’

The American revolutionary war, says a British historian, might have been prevented by the timely concession of freedom from internal taxation, as imposed by the British parliament, and by an abstinence, on the part of the crown, from a violation of this important particular of chartered rights. The

confidential letters of Doctor Franklin evince that it was with extreme reluctance the American patriots adopted the measure of severing the colonies from the mother country. But when they had taken this decisive step, by the declaration of independence, they firmly resolved to abide by the consequences of their own act; and with the single exception of Georgia, never, even in the most distressful contingencies of the war, did any public body of the provinces show any disposition to renew their allegiance to the king of Great Britain. Still, it has been doubted, considering the conduct of the inhabitants of the Jerseys, when Washington was retreating before General Howe, whether, had the British commanders restrained their troops, with the strictness of discipline, and exercised toward the American people the conciliatory spirit evinced in Canada by Sir Guy Carleton, the fervour of resistance might not have been considerably abated.

But for their own discomfiture and our good, the British generally conducted the war with cruelty and rancour. Our patriotic citizens were treated by their soldiery not as enemies entitled to the courtesies of war, but as rebels whose lives and property lay at the mercy of the victors. Hence devastation marked the track of the invading forces, while the inhabitants found their truest safety in resistance, and their best shelter in the republican camp. Nor will he who reads the minute details of the eventful contest be surprised, that the British ministry persevered in the war when success might have appeared to be hopeless. It is now well known, as we have already had occasion to remark, that George III. revolted from the idea of concession to his disobedient subjects, and was determined to put all to the hazard, rather than acknowledge their independence. Lord North, at an early period of the war, had misgivings as to its ultimate success, but he had not firmness enough to give his sovereign unwelcome advice; whilst Lord George Germain and the other ministers fully sympathised with the royal feelings, and entered heartily into the views of their master.

They were apprised, from time to time, of the destitute condition of the American army, but living as they were, with the selfishness and venality of courts and political parties, they could not conceive the idea of men sacrificing health, property, and life, for their country's good. When Washington suffered reverses in the field, such men imagined that the affairs of the congress were desperate, and flattered them-

selves that the great body of the colonists, wearied and disheartened by successive defeats, would be glad to accept the royal mercy, and return to their allegiance.

In these notions they were confirmed by the loyalists, who, giving utterance to their wishes rather than stating the truth, afforded the most incorrect representations of the feelings and temper of their countrymen. Some of these going over to England, were received with favour in high circles, and by their insinuations kept up to the last the delusion of the government. These individuals at length fell the victims of their own error. Traitors to their country, they lost their property by acts of confiscation, and while they lived on the bounty of the British crown, they had the mortification to see the country which they had deserted, rise to an exalted rank among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XXXII.

FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

IT was natural that the severe struggle of the Revolution should be followed by a season of comparative exhaustion and weakness. This effect was felt by the people of the United States for a considerable period after peace as well as independence had been secured. The enthusiasm of a popular contest terminating in victory, began to subside, and the sacrifices of the Revolution soon became known and felt. The claims of those who had toiled, fought and suffered in the arduous conflict, were strongly urged, and the government had neither resources nor power to satisfy them.

The general government had no separate and exclusive fund; but was under the necessity of making requisitions on the state governments for all money required for national purposes. When called upon for the funds to pay the arrears due to the army, and the interest on the public debt, the state legislatures were neither willing, nor indeed able, to meet the demand. The wealth of the country had been exhausted by the war; and the proper method of drawing on its future resources, so well understood and so extensively employed at present, had not been yet discovered and applied by the general or the state governments.

Taxes could not be collected, because there was no money to represent the value of the little personal property which had not been, and the land which could not be, destroyed; and commerce, though preparing to burst from its thralldom, had not yet had time to restore to the annual produce of the country its exchangeable value. The states owed each a heavy debt for local services rendered during the revolution, for which it was bound to provide, and each had its own domestic government to support.

Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that each state was anxious to retain, for its own benefit, the small but rising revenue derived from foreign commerce; and that the custom-houses in each commercial city were considered as the most valuable sources of income which the states possessed. Each state therefore made its own regulations, its tariff, and tonnage duties, and as a natural consequence, the different states clashed with each other; one foreign nation became more favoured than another under the same circumstances; and one state pursued a system injurious to the interests of others.

Hence the confidence of foreign countries was destroyed; and they could not enter into treaties of commerce with the general government, since they were not likely to be carried into effect. A general decay of trade, the rise of imported merchandise, the fall of produce, and an uncommon decrease in the value of lands, ensued.

In Massachusetts, where several laws were passed for the collection of taxes and debts, the discontent was so great that it led to open rebellion against the state government. In August, 1784, a large body of insurgents assembled and took possession of the court-house, in order to prevent the decision of causes and the consequent issue of executions. A similar mob compelled the court at Worcester to adjourn in September. The same spirit of disaffection was manifested in New Hampshire, and the legislature itself was menaced by an assemblage of the populace. This insurrection, however, was speedily quelled by the decisive measures of the government.

In Massachusetts the spirit of insurrection held out longer. The leader of the malcontents, Daniel Shays, raised a body of 300 men, proceeded to Springfield, where the supreme court was sitting, and surrounding the court-house, compelled the judges to adjourn. After this success his adherents increased so considerably, that it became necessary to order out an army

of 4,000 men to put a stop to their proceedings. This force was placed under the direction of General Lincoln, who, having first afforded sufficient protection to the court at Worcester to enable the judges to resume their functions, marched to Springfield, where the insurgents were on the point of seizing the state arsenal. A single well directed fire of artillery served to disperse the rebels and restore public order. The chief insurgents were afterwards tried, and fourteen of them sentenced to death. But all were ultimately pardoned.

The time at length came when the public mind gave tokens of being prepared for a change in the constitution of the general government—an occurrence the necessity of which had been long foreseen by Washington, Adams, and other distinguished patriots of that period. The evils resulting from the weakness and inefficiency of the old confederation had become so intolerable that the voice of the nation cried out for relief.

The first decisive measures proceeded from the merchants, who came forward simultaneously in all parts of the country, with representations of the utter prostration of the mercantile interests, and petitions for a speedy and efficient remedy. It was shown, that the advantages of this most important source of national prosperity, were flowing into the hands of foreigners, and that the native merchants were suffering for the want of a just protection, and a uniform system of trade. The wise and reflecting were convinced that some decided efforts were necessary to strengthen the general government, or that a dissolution of the union, and perhaps a devastating anarchy, would be inevitable.

The first step towards the formation of a new constitution, was rather accidental than premeditated. Certain citizens of Virginia and Maryland had formed a scheme for promoting the navigation of the Potomac river and Chesapeake bay, and commissioners were appointed by those two states to meet at Alexandria, in March, 1785, and devise some plan of operation. These persons made a visit to Mount Vernon, and, while there, it was proposed among themselves that more important objects should be connected with the purpose at first in view, and that the state governments should be solicited to appoint other commissioners with more enlarged powers, instructed to form a plan for maintaining a naval force in the Chesapeake, and also to fix upon some system of duties, upon

exports and imports, in which both states should agree, and that in the end, congress should be petitioned to allow these privileges.

This project was approved by the legislature of Virginia, and commissioners were accordingly appointed. The same legislature passed a resolution, recommending the design to other states, and inviting them to unite, by their commissioners, in an attempt to establish such a system of commercial relations as would promote general harmony and prosperity. Five states, in addition to Virginia, acceded to this proposition, namely, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. From these states, commissioners assembled at Annapolis, in September, 1786, but they had hardly entered into a discussion of the topics which naturally forced themselves into view, before they discovered the powers with which they were intrusted to be so limited, as to tie up their hands from effecting any purpose that could be of essential utility. On this account, as well as from the circumstance, that so few states were represented, they wisely declined deciding on any important measures in reference to the particular subjects for which they had come together. This convention is memorable, however, as having been the prelude to the one which followed.

Before the commissioners adjourned, a report was agreed upon, in which the necessity of a revision and reform of the articles of the old federal compact was strongly urged, and which contained a recommendation to all the state legislatures, for the appointment of deputies, to meet at Philadelphia, with more ample powers and instructions. This report was laid before congress, and a resolution was passed by that body, recommending a convention for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and giving a more substantial and efficient form to the constitution of the general government.

In conformity with these recommendations, a convention of delegates from the several states met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787. Of this body of eminent statesmen, George Washington was unanimously elected president. He had been early solicited to add the weight of his influence to the convention by Mr. Madison, one of its strongest advocates, but had with characteristic modesty declined. No denial, however, would be taken either by the legislature of Virginia, who elected him a delegate, or by the august body itself, who chose that the

chief of the revolution should preside over its deliberations, while forming the constitution of the country which he had saved from oppression and anarchy.

The convention was composed of some of the most illustrious men, whose names adorn our national history. Besides Washington himself, there were Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Patrick Henry, Franklin, Hamilton, Jay, Randolph, the Lees, and a host of others. The discussion and arrangement of the several articles, was carried on with closed doors, and lasted four months. At length, on the 17th of September, the proposed constitution was made public. It was presented to congress, and by that body submitted to the several states for acceptance.

This constitution is essentially different from the old articles of confederation. The most important point of difference consists in giving to the general government the controul of the revenue, and the regulation of commerce; and thus enabling the congress to raise money directly from the people, instead of resorting to the old system of requisitions on the state governments, which had been found totally inefficient.

By the constitution of the United States, the government is made to consist of three departments, the legislative, executive, and judicial. The legislative or law-making department consists of a senate and house of representatives, collectively styled the congress. The members of the house of representatives are chosen by the people, in districts containing a certain number of inhabitants; and they hold the office for two years. The senators are chosen by the state legislature, two from each state, to hold office for six years, one-third of the senate being renewed every two years. Besides assisting in the making of laws, this body confirms the appointments of executive officers made by the president, and ratifies treaties.

The executive department consists of the president, and the officers appointed by him to execute the laws. The president is appointed by electors, who are chosen by the people; or by the representatives, when there is no choice by a majority of the electors. He is elected for four years, but may be elected again. The command of the army and navy, the appointment of all civil, military and naval officers, acting by authority of the United States, and the ratification of treaties are vested in him, the two latter powers being subject, how-

ever, to the confirmation or rejection of the senate. Another important power of the president is that of passing a negative, or veto, on such acts of congress as he may disapprove. A majority of two-thirds of both houses is then necessary, in order to give the act the authority of a law, without the sanction of the president.

By the constitution, congress is authorised to declare war, raise and support armies, maintain a navy, collect revenue, lay direct taxes, regulate commerce, coin money, and provide in general for the security and welfare of the nation.

The judicial department of the government consists of a supreme court, and such district courts as congress may establish. The judges in these courts have jurisdiction of all cases arising under the laws of the United States, and under treaties, as well as the cases between individuals of different states, and between foreigners and citizens.

The constitution no sooner appeared, than it was attacked with great earnestness by a powerful party. Various objections were made to its several provisions, and a discussion in the public journals ensued, lively and animated in proportion to the importance of the subject. It was indeed a question of life and death to the political existence of the nation; and the parties to which it gave rise, have under different names divided the country ever since.

The chief supporters of the constitution Madison, Hamilton, and Jay, had published, while it was under consideration, a series of letters, signed *the Federalist*, a name which was subsequently applied to the party who adopted their opinions. Their opposers were styled anti-federalists, a designation which was afterwards changed to republicans, democrats, and sundry other terms; the party meanwhile preserving its identity, by opposing such measures as appeared to them calculated to withdraw power from the people, and the individual states, for the purpose of lodging it in the hands of the general government.

The constant struggle which has since been maintained between these parties, has been much deprecated by those who regard the occasional excesses to which it leads, rather than the necessity from which it arises. It is essential to the existence of free institutions, that public measures should be freely discussed and examined on every side. Such discussions enlighten the people, and prevent the adoption of measures dangerous to their liberties; and if a storm occa-

sionally arises, it serves but to clear the political atmosphere, and render it more suitable for the hardy sons of liberty to inhale. A constant dead calm is the characteristic of that political region only where despotism silences every murmur, and disperses every cloud of discontent.

Notwithstanding the animated opposition which was made to it, the federal constitution soon obtained the assent of all the states, save two—Rhode Island and North Carolina. New York was said to have acceded, chiefly from fear of being excluded from the union; and, in consenting, she had demanded a new convention to make amendments in the act. Even Virginia thought it necessary to propose alterations. She required a declaration of right, and the limitation that the president should be but once re-elected. The discussions concerning these points of difference occupied the year 1788, after which the constitution was generally accepted, and the grand point of a federal union achieved.

The 4th of March, 1789, was the time appointed for the commencement of the new government. So wanting, however, were many of the states, or their representatives, in zeal, that three weeks elapsed before a full meeting of both houses could be procured. At length, the votes for president and vice-president of the United States were opened and counted in the senate, when it was found that George Washington was unanimously elected president, and John Adams having received the second number of votes, was elected vice-president.

With unfeigned reluctance, occasioned both by the love of retirement and tenderness for his reputation, did the illustrious Washington accept the first office of the nation. The sacrifice was demanded of him, as, in the words of Hamilton, the success of the great experiment, viz. the working and existence of the new government, altogether depended upon the moral force which the name and character of Washington would bring to its chief office.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE intelligence of his being elected to the office of chief magistrate of the United States, was communicated to General Washington while on his farm at Mount Vernon, on the 14th of April, 1789. He accepted this high honour with expressions of gratitude for this new proof of the attachment and confidence of his country, and with declarations of diffidence in himself. 'I wish,' he said, 'that there may not be reasons for regretting the choice, for indeed, all I can promise is, to accomplish that which can be done by an honest zeal.'

As his presence at the seat of government was immediately required, he set out from Mount Vernon on the second day after receiving notice of his appointment.

His journey to New York bore the character of a triumphal procession. The roads were crowded with multitudes desiring to see the 'man of the people.' Escorts of militia, and gentlemen of the highest respectability, attended him from state to state. Addresses of congratulation were presented to him at the several towns through which he passed, to which he returned answers marked with his characteristic dignity and modesty.

His reception at Trenton, and the ceremony of inauguration, are thus described by Dr. Ramsay :—

'When Washington crossed the Delaware, and landed on the Jersey shore, he was saluted with three cheers by the inhabitants of the vicinity. When he came to the brow of the hill on his way to Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected on the bridge, by the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was highly ornamented with imperial laurels and flowers; and on it was displayed in large characters, *December 26th, 1776*. On the sweep of the arch beneath was this inscription: *The defender of the mothers will also protect their daughters*. On the north side were ranged a number of little girls dressed in white, with garlands of flowers on their heads, and baskets of flowers on their arms; in the second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the mar-

ried ladies of the neighbourhood. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode :—

“ Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore :
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow,
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

“ Virgins fair and matrons grave,
These, thy conquering arm did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers,
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers,
Strew your Hero's way with flowers.”

‘ As they sung the last lines, they strewed their flowers on the road before their beloved deliverer. His situation on this occasion, contrasted with what he had felt on the same spot, in December, 1776, when the affairs of America were at the lowest ebb of depression, filled him with sensations that cannot be described. He was met by a committee of congress, in New Jersey, who conducted him to Elizabethtown Point, where he embarked for New York, in an elegant barge of thirteen oars, manned by thirteen branch pilots. On landing in New York, he was conducted with military honours to the apartments provided for him. There he received the congratulations of great numbers, who pressed round him to express their joy on seeing the man who possessed the love of the nation, at the head of its government.

‘ The 30th of April was fixed for his taking the oath of office, which is in the following words: “ I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States.” This was administered by R. R. Livingston, the chancellor of the state of New York, in the presence of both branches of the national legislature, and an immense concourse of citizens. An awful silence prevailed among the spectators. It was a minute of the most sublime political joy. The chancellor then proclaimed him president of the United States. This was answered by the discharge of 13 guns, and by the effusion of shouts, from ten thousand grateful and affectionate hearts.

‘ The president, after bowing respectfully to the people, retired to the senate chamber, where he addressed both

houses, with the appellation of "Fellow Citizens of the senate and house of representatives," in an impressive speech, in which with his usual modesty he declared his "incapacity for the mighty and untried cares before him," and offered his fervent supplications "to the Almighty Being, whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that his benediction would consecrate, to the liberties and happiness of the United States, a government instituted by themselves, for those essential purposes; and that he would enable every agent, employed in its administration, to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge." He also declared that "no truth was more thoroughly established, than that there exists an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness;—between duty and advantage; between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous people, and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; and that the propitious smiles of heaven could never be expected on a nation that disregarded the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself had ordained."

'After making some personal observations, that in conformity to the principle he adopted, when made commander-in-chief of the army, to renounce all pecuniary compensation, "he declined, as inapplicable to himself, any share in the personal emoluments included in a permanent provision for the executive department," and prayed "that the pecuniary estimates for the station in which he was placed, should, during his continuance therein, be limited to such actual expenditures as the public good might be thought to require." He then took his leave; "but not without resorting, once more in humble supplication, to the benign Parent of the human race, that since he had been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity, and dispositions for deciding with unparal-leled unanimity, on a form of government, for the security of their union, and the advancement of their happiness, so his divine blessing might be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations, and the wise measures, on which the success of the government must depend."

No sooner was the federal government thus completed by the inauguration of its chief, than congress proceeded at once to the consideration of what most pressed upon its attention—the revenue. But as everything had hitherto remained

unsettled, the discussion on this point involved the question of foreign policy and preference; and leading to a warm debate, occasioned a collision between parties at the very outset of their legislative career.

Mr. Madison proposed a tax upon imported goods and tonnage. This, in principle, was objected to by none; but as the tonnage duty, pressing upon foreign vessels exclusively, was intended to act in favour of domestic, and at the expense of foreign shipping, it excited opposition. Some urged that America had few ships of her own, and needed the use of those which this duty might drive away. But Madison pointed out, in answer, the necessity of fostering the infant navy of the country, as the only defensive force that would be required, or available, in a future war. This argument overcame the objections, and the clause establishing duties on imports and tonnage was passed.

A provision being thus made for raising a revenue and answering the just debts of the states, congress proceeded to complete the machine of government, by the institution of an executive cabinet. Departments were erected, of the treasury, of war, and of state—the latter including foreign and domestic relations; and these ministerial departments were filled up with able statesmen. Colonel Hamilton, the friend of Washington, and he who had chiefly induced him to accept the guidance of the new government, was appointed secretary of the treasury. General Knox, who had been secretary of war under congress, was now re-appointed; whilst Mr. Jefferson, envoy in France, but then on his return to the United States, was named secretary of state. At the head of the judicial department was placed Mr. Jay, as chief justice, one of the most estimable characters of the time.

Such were the chief results of the first session of congress, as established by the constitution. Immediately after its close, Washington undertook a journey through the New England states, in every quarter of which he was welcomed with the most affectionate enthusiasm. Nor could this tribute be paid to his person exclusively; without in some degree producing a share of such feeling for his office. North Carolina, in this recess, gave up her opposition; and her legislature now by a vote declared its adhesion to the union.

The next session of congress commenced in January, 1790. Its first important business was to act upon the famous report of Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury, in which he

proposed a plan for funding the public debt by raising a loan equal to the whole amount of the debt. To this the opposition, or anti-federal party, objected; arguing that it was expedient to pay foreigners the entire of their demand; but as the American holder of paper money had, for the most part, received it at a most depreciated value, he should be paid only the price at which he bought it. Mr. Jackson opposed the ministerial measure, on the broad principle of aversion to the system of public debt altogether. There was more reason for this objection, as Hamilton proposed to render a portion of the public debt irredeemable except with the holder's consent.

Notwithstanding the opposition to the secretary's measure it was agreed to. But a very important part of the arrangement remained behind. This referred to the debts incurred separately by each state for carrying on the war. These Hamilton proposed that congress should pay, and throw into the common fund. The opposition maintained that each state should account for, and settle its own debt. And this they urged, on the principle that if the federal government thus made the paying of interest and raising of funds to centre in itself, it would wield a power inconsistent with the rights and independence of the separate states.

This was a question upon which the federalists and anti-federalists, or republicans, as they now began to be called, were brought into direct collision, and the dispute was yet warmer than any hitherto known. The federalists exclaimed, that no government could exist which was considered unworthy of this confidence. The republicans urged, that these plans raised up a host of fundholders and public creditors bound in obligation to the government, which would henceforth be supported and carried on by a system of corruption.

The resolution of the treasury secretary was at first carried by a few voices; but on the deputies from North Carolina, lately admitted into the union, soon after taking their seats in congress, the question was re-committed, and the original resolution rejected by the same majority which had but just accepted it. 'So high,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'were the feuds excited by this subject, that on its rejection, business was suspended. Congress met and adjourned from day to day, without doing anything, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together.'

In consequence of having been the principal theatre of the

war, the northern states were most in debt ; and if they were to be paid by the Union in general, it would be at the expense of the southern states. The latter, therefore, opposed the government plan most violently. Indeed, this was the secret of the long secession of North Carolina from the federal government. Hamilton, however, represented to the leading members on the opposite side, that the consequence of holding out and prolonging this difference might prove a dissolution of the Union. He prayed some of them, in consequence, to withdraw their negative votes ; and though this measure pressed severely on the southern states, some other measures should be passed which would compensate them.

It had been previously proposed to fix the seat of government either at Philadelphia or at Georgetown on the Potomac ; and it was thought, that by giving it to Philadelphia for ten years, and to Georgetown permanently afterwards, the ferment which might be excited by the other measures, would be calmed. Two of the Potomac members, White and Lee, agreed to change their vote ; and Hamilton undertook to carry the other point. Thus did the ability of the secretary carry this important measure, which not only preserved the public credit of the country entire, but gave strength and efficiency to the federal government at a period when weakness would have been highly and permanently injurious.

The raising of supplies to meet the interest of this newly funded debt, was a task that still remained for the minister, and which was deferred till the following session of congress. This he proposed to accomplish by duties on wine, tea, and other luxuries ; but chiefly by an excise upon spirits distilled within the country. This last tax was violently opposed, but the opponents of the measure were unable to show any more feasible means of raising the necessary revenue ; and the excise bill passed.

Hamilton's next measure, for the completion of his commercial and monied system, was the establishment of a national bank. This was pronounced by the republican party to be aristocratical and unconstitutional. Jefferson opposed it with great earnestness, and both he and Hamilton having, after the passing of the bill, submitted their opinions to the consideration of the president, he after some deliberation decided in favour of his treasury minister ; and the establishment of a national bank was in consequence determined on.

The consequence of this measure was soon felt in the revival of public credit and commercial prosperity. Public paper, which had before been at a very great discount, rapidly rose to par, and property which had previously suffered great depreciation, now rapidly increased in value. Every department of industry was invigorated and enlivened by the establishment of a convenient and uniform currency.

While the financial system of the United States was thus acquiring permanence and diffusing prosperity under the directing genius of Hamilton, a cloud of war made its appearance among the Indian nations on the frontier. Of these, the Creeks in the south kept Georgia on the alert; whilst on the north-west beyond the Ohio, certain tribes, cherishing vengeance for past hostilities against them, carried on a desultory warfare; plundering and ravaging detached settlements. The president directed his attention first towards the Creeks, with whom adjustment was rendered difficult by their connection with Spain. The first attempt to bring about an accommodation failed, but, in 1790, Gillivray, their chief, was induced to proceed to New York, and conclude a treaty.

Similar overtures made to the Indians beyond the Ohio, were not attended with any good result. Washington regarding the employment of a regular force as necessary, pressed on congress the increase of the army, which did not at that time exceed 1,200 men. But his recommendation was unavailing; and the settlers of the west were left for a time to their own defence.

At length, in 1790, some funds and troops were voted; and in the autumn of that year, an expedition of 1,500 men under General Harmer was sent up the river Wabash, where he succeeded in burning some Indian villages; but in the end retreated with little honour and much loss. This check procured for Washington permission to raise a greater number of troops. Two expeditions were undertaken in the following year, both without success.

Finally a considerable force under General St. Clair suffered a most disastrous defeat. He was surrounded by the Indians; and unable either to dislodge them or sustain their fire, the Americans were driven in disorderly flight a distance of 30 miles in four hours. They lost 60 officers, amongst whom was General Butler, and upwards of 800 men, more than half their force; and yet the Indians were not supposed to outnumber their enemies.

This disaster gave rise to a proposal from the president to raise the military force of the country to 5,000 men, which, after some opposition in congress, was finally agreed to.

The state of Vermont, which having been formerly claimed by New York and New Hampshire, had, in 1777, refused to submit to either, and declared itself independent, applied in 1791 to be admitted into the Union, and was accordingly received. Kentucky, which had hitherto been a part of Virginia, was also admitted by an act which was to take effect on the 1st of June in the succeeding year.

In order to determine the ratio of representation according to the population, a census was required by the constitution to be taken every tenth year. The first was completed in 1791; by which it appeared that the whole number of inhabitants was 3,921,326, of whom 695,655 were slaves.

In the spring of 1791, Washington made a tour through the southern states, on which occasion, stopping upon the Potomac, he selected, according to the powers intrusted to him, the site for the capital of the union. He was greeted throughout his progress with affectionate welcome; nor was a murmur allowed to reach his ear, although the odious excise law was, just about that period, brought into operation.

A new congress met at Philadelphia in the latter end of October; and, in his opening speech, the president principally alluded to the great success of the bank scheme, the shares for which had all been subscribed for in less than two hours after the books were opened; to the operations of the excise law, and the obstinate resistance of the Indians.

Washington's first term of office being about to expire, he was, in the autumn of 1792, elected a second time to the office of president, for another term of four years, commencing March 4th, 1793. Mr. Adams was again elected vice-president.

Washington accepted the presidency at a moment when the country was about to stand most in need of his impartial honesty and firmness. The French revolution had just reached its highest point of fanaticism and disorder; and the general war which it occasioned in Europe put it out of the power of the president and the people of the United States to remain indifferent spectators of what was passing.

The French republic was about to appoint a new envoy to the United States; and questions arose as to whether he should be received, and whether the treaty concluded with

the monarch of France, stipulating a defensive alliance in case of an attack, upon the part of England, was now binding on America.

These, and other questions arising out of them, being submitted by the president to his cabinet, after much discussion, in which Hamilton and Knox were for breaking with the new government of France, and Jefferson and Randolph were for recognising it, they agreed that, for the sake of preserving neutrality, a proclamation should be issued, forbidding the citizens of the United States from fitting out privateers against either power. The president resolved to receive the envoy, and it was agreed that no mention should be made of the treaty, or of its having been taken into consideration.

The new envoy, M. Genet, an ignorant and arrogant individual, instead of sailing to Philadelphia, the seat of government, and communicating immediately with the president or ministers, landed at Charleston in South Carolina, and there remained six weeks superintending and authorising the fitting out of cruisers to intercept British vessels. The enthusiasm with which he was welcomed by the people, both at Charleston and during his land journey to Philadelphia, induced citizen Genet to believe that the envoy of France must be as powerful as its name was revered. He deemed that, relying on the popular support, he might set himself above the cautious scruples of the existing government.

Accordingly, when expostulated with upon his licensing privateers, and upon the captures made by his countrymen in the very rivers of the United States, Genet replied, that the treaty between France and this country sanctioned such measures, and that any obstructions put upon them would not only be infractions of the treaty, but treason against the rights of man.

The government, however, arrested two individuals who had entered on the privateering service, and when Genet demanded their release, he was countenanced and supported by a set of adherents who gave him fêtes, and formed societies in favour of his opposition to the constituted authorities of the country. This emboldened him still further to insult the government, by sending out a privateer from Philadelphia during Washington's absence from that city, after having promised to detain her till his return.

Whilst the government was consulting its law officers, to decide how best they might deal with the refractory and inso-

lent French envoy, the latter made it a ground of complaint that the British were in the habit of taking French property out of American vessels, contrary to the principles of neutrality avowed by the rest of Europe. Jefferson himself, although favourable to French interests, was obliged to tell Genet, on this occasion, that the British were right. But the latter would yield to neither authority nor reason; he replied in the most insulting tone, and would appeal, he said, from the president to the people.

This expression sealed his fate. The people at once abandoned the spoiled favourite, when he talked of insulting their beloved chief in this manner. The well-earned popularity of Washington could not be shaken by the blustering of this insolent foreigner. He was deserted by his warmest admirers, and when the government, determined on preserving its neutrality, had demanded and obtained his recall, the envoy, not daring to return to a country where it might be considered one of the *rights of man* to take off his head, quietly retired into obscurity and oblivion, and lived for many years under the protection of the very government which he had dared to insult.

Although the conduct of this individual disgusted the federal party, and perhaps added to its numbers by detaching many from the opposite ranks, the republicans still continued to cherish a grateful recollection of the services rendered to this country by France, during the revolutionary war, and a strong sympathy for those who were struggling for liberty against a powerful league of European monarchs who seemed bent on the utter destruction of the French republic. The warfare between the parties in the United States, respectively favouring England and France, was carried on with considerable spirit on both sides; and it required all the firmness and integrity of Washington to restrain them from breaking out into dangerous excesses.

General Wayne, who had been appointed to carry on the Indian war, after the defeat of St. Clair, marched against them at the head of 3,000 men, and in an action fought on the banks of the Miami, August 20th, 1794, totally routed them and destroyed their forts and villages. This action was followed by a treaty which gave security to the north-western frontier, and soon occasioned a rapid increase in the population of that favoured region.

The excise law was highly unpopular in many parts of the

country. The inquisitorial character of such regulations always renders them obnoxious to popular hatred. In Pennsylvania, particularly, the dislike rose to forcible resistance, which soon assumed an organised form, and set all law and legal order at defiance. A proclamation was at first issued, but proved of no avail. The federal members of the cabinet urged the necessity of assembling the militia of the neighbouring states, and marching them to intimidate or crush the insurrectionary force of Pennsylvania. This was a bold step, and much decried and disputed at the time. But it completely succeeded. A militia force, under the command of Governor Lee, and accompanied by Secretary Hamilton, marched across the Alleghany mountains, and such was their imposing number, that the insurgents shrunk from a contest with their armed brethren, and dispersed without offering any resistance. The result was most important, and, as producing it, the insurrection itself proved beneficial, since it showed to the lover of anarchy that there did exist a force in the country sufficient to put down any unconstitutional attempt.

Mr. Jefferson had already retired from the office of secretary of state, and been succeeded by Mr. Randolph. Hamilton and Knox now retired from the departments of the treasury and war, giving place to Mr. Wolcott and Colonel Pickering.

Mr. Jay, who had been sent envoy to England, had concluded a treaty with Lord Grenville, the minister of that country, which was now received. By this treaty, England stipulated to evacuate the posts hitherto occupied by her within the boundary line of the United States; the Americans, on the other hand, allowing British subjects every facility for the recovery of past debts. Indemnification was promised on both sides for illegal captures. Freedom of trade was agreed on to a certain extent. Americans were allowed to trade with the West Indies in vessels under twenty tons, provided they carried their produce to their own ports only, and exported no such produce to Europe. This last stipulation was hard, as it prohibited the American from sending to Europe the cotton or sugar of its own production. This had escaped Mr. Jay, and the president refused to ratify the treaty till this mistake was rectified. The other grievance of the treaty was, the right of England, still allowed, to take out of American ships contraband articles, and to be in some measure the judge of what was contraband. This, which, when Mr. Jefferson was secretary of state, had been loudly

complained of, formed a just ground of cavil against the treaty. However, these objections were counterbalanced by so many advantages, that the president, after some further delay, ratified the treaty, and a majority of the senate concurred in his decision.

Never had there been a more violent expression of opinion in America, than that which now assailed Washington and his treaty; for his it was considered. Nothing was to be heard but discussions concerning it; and public meetings were called in almost every town, at which addresses and resolutions were drawn up against it.

The republican party exclaimed against it as the basest ingratitude against France, and of treason towards a republic, whose watchword and safeguard ought to be hatred to monarchy and to England. The grave dignity of Washington condemning his opposers, rebuked with effect such violent addresses as were offered to him; and his firmness caused public opinion to rally, if not to turn in his favour. Hamilton left his retirement to defend the measure; and although the people refused to listen to him in public, he advocated it with the pen in writings that staggered opposition, and actually stemmed the popular torrent. These exertions of the federalists enabled the president to stand his ground and support the treaty, which was ultimately of great benefit to the commerce as well as the productive industry of the country.

Ere the president again met congress, his envoys had almost concluded treaties with Spain, with Algiers, and with the Indians beyond the Ohio. Spain yielded the right to navigate the Mississippi, with a depot at New Orleans. So that these united with the British treaty, formed a complete pacific system, which Washington aimed at establishing, ere he retired from the executive, as the last bequest to his country.

Party spirit was, however, still active and strong. The arrival of a new French envoy gave rise, by the extravagant addresses which he made, to a fresh access of enthusiasm in favour of that country. The president kept unswervingly to his neutral policy, although he was now unsupported by any eminent man as minister. He proclaimed the treaty with Great Britain. Although this right was secured to him, conjointly with the senate, by the constitution, the house of representatives still complained that they had not been consulted; and they passed a vote demanding of the president the communication of the papers and correspondence relative to the

treaty. This he firmly refused, on constitutional grounds, and as a pernicious precedent, stating his reasons at considerable length. But the lower house did not want pretexts for discussing the treaty, and advocating their right to interfere with it. Strong debates ensued. But the great body of the people had too much respect for the founder of their liberties to support a factious and personal opposition to him.

France remained the only country dissatisfied with the conduct of the United States. She thought herself entitled to more than common amity; in fact, to the gratitude and cordial support of a sister republic. The treaty, therefore, between America and Great Britain had excited the resentment of the directory; and, indeed, those articles of it, which allowed the latter country the right of taking French goods from neutral ships, were calculated to excite complaint.

The directory, however, was not content with addressing the language of legitimate remonstrance to the cabinet of Washington. They directed their envoy to address congress; to appeal from the president to the people as Genet had done; and so attempt to force the government into a closer alliance with France.

Washington, however, was not able to bring this negotiation, as he had done others, to a term. The period of his second tenure of the presidential office was about to expire, and no consideration could tempt him to permit his re-election. Besides his age and fatigues, there were many reasons for this decision, the principal of which was that one person had ruled a sufficient time for a free republic.

His intention of retiring from the presidency, Washington announced to the people of the United States in a valedictory address, which, for eloquence and force, and for sound principles of government, must be considered one of the classic records of political wisdom. Despite their late opposition, the legislature were unanimous in the tribute of gratitude and veneration, which answered the president's announcement that he addressed them for the last time. The people read the Farewell Address with feelings of profound respect and attachment; and several of the state legislatures inserted it at large in their journals, and passed resolutions expressing their exalted sense of the services and character of its author, and their emotions at his retirement from office.

The candidates for the highest office in the nation about to become vacant, were Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.

The former was supported by the republican party, and the latter by the federalists. After a very active canvass, the federal party prevailed, Adams receiving the highest number of votes was elected president, and Jefferson having the second number was declared vice-president.

On the 4th of March, 1797, Washington, having witnessed the ceremony of his successor's inauguration, and tendered him 'those respectful compliments which he believed to be equally due to the man and to the office, hastened to that real felicity which awaited him at Mount Vernon, the enjoyment of which he had long impatiently anticipated.

'Amidst all the victories and high achievements of young America,' says an impartial writer, whom we have had frequent occasion to quote, 'there is none of which she has so much reason to be proud as the having given birth to Washington. So perfect, so pure, so simple, yet so lofty a character, the modern world had not yet produced. Indeed, a European monarchy could not have produced a Washington. Our social organisation, framed on feudal principles, is too much impregnated with vanity, personal ambition, and the love of precedence, not to have corrupted the colonial officer long ere he became the hero of independence. Not but that monarchies have their worthies, Sidneys and Bayards, a numerous host; but a Washington they could not have, because the first rank of military talent must, among these, infallibly inspire some passion of baser alloy. Let Cromwell, and Napoleon, and Marlborough, and Charles XII. be passed with their compeers in view, and it will be seen how even patriotism dwindled as a motive, till utterly lost amidst baser sentiments.

'Washington stands alone. As a commander, his character has risen, since men have come to examine it. With an army so doubting in spirit, and uncertain in numbers, as to have filled any captain with despair, he still achieved what, indeed, probability rendered hopeless. Cool and imperturbable to bide his time, and, Fabius-like, observe the enemy, he never wanted the impetuosity of Marcellus, when opportunity rendered such advantageous.

'As a statesman, his administration forms a monument as glorious as his campaigns. He found a constitution born so feeble, that its very parents were hopeless of its existence; yet he contrived in raising it to give it force, and communicate to it the principle of maturity. Amidst the storm of adverse parties that gradually arose around him, Washington pre-

served an impartial sense of what his country demanded ; and though latterly he leaned on the side of federalism, and strong institutions, yet it was never so much as to upset the balance ; and perhaps the greatest proof of his sagacity, and of the difficulty of this task, is, that his successor, John Adams, failed in the same attempt, and by allowing himself to be borne away by one party, gave to the other the opportunity of successful re-action.

“His mind was great and powerful,” says Jefferson, “without being of the first order ; his penetration strong, though not so acute as that of Newton, Bacon, or Locke ; and, as far as he saw, no judgment was ever sounder. It was slow in operation, being little aided by invention or imagination, but sure in conclusion.” He was incapable of fear, being full of calm courage in the field ; and though naturally of an “irritable and high-toned temper,” he had nevertheless so subdued this by reflection and resolution, that it never interfered with the coolness of his judgment, or with that prudence, which, Jefferson said, was the strongest feature in his character. When greatly moved, his wrath was, however, tremendous. “His heart was not warm in its affections, but he exactly calculated every man’s value, and gave him a solid esteem proportioned to it. His person was fine ; his stature exactly what one would wish ; his deportment easy, erect, and noble. His was the most graceful figure that could be seen on horseback. Although in the circle of his friends, where he might be unreserved with safety, he took a free share in conversation, his colloquial talents were not above mediocrity, possessing neither copiousness of ideas, nor fluency of words. In public, when called on for a sudden opinion, he was unready, short, and embarrassed ; yet he wrote readily, rather diffusely, in an easy, correct style. This he had acquired by conversation with the world ; for his education had been merely reading, writing, and arithmetic. His time was employed in action chiefly, reading little, and that only in agriculture and English history. His correspondence became necessarily extensive, and, with journalising his agricultural proceedings, it occupied most of his leisure hours within doors. On the whole, his character was in its mass perfect, in nothing bad, in few points indifferent ; and it may truly be said, that never did nature and fortune combine more perfectly to make a man great, and to place him in the same constellation with whatever worthies have merited from man an everlasting remembrance.”

CHAPTER XXXIV.

. ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

THE new president had been elected by the votes of the federal party. Like the other leading federalists he had been charged with a leaning towards monarchy; and his writings gave some colour to the supposition. But the same charge is always made against those who are in favour of what is called a strong government. His character for talent stood high. All who wished to uphold the policy of Washington had voted in his favour. He was not supposed to be so biassed against France as many others of his party; and Jefferson himself had pronounced him to be 'the only sure barrier against Hamilton's getting in.' The northern states were all for him, and as the southern men were by no means united in the support of Jefferson, Adams had prevailed without difficulty.

The conduct of France was the first important subject of attention to the new government. The executive directory of that country, elated by their new and wondrous career of conquest, were disposed to assume towards foreign powers a tone of imperial arrogance. Mr. Pinkney, the American envoy, considered of the federal, rather than of the republican party, was informed that 'he could not be received till existing grievances had been redressed;' and was, moreover, almost bidden to quit the country. In addition to these insults to Pinkney, Mr. Monroe, the former envoy, was addressed at his audience of leave, in terms so vituperative as to amount almost to a declaration of war. The tone assumed was that of an appeal from the government to the people of the United States; and the minister of France in America had adopted the same tone and conduct in endeavouring to influence the late elections.

Whatever were the previous opinions of the new president, he now displayed himself as sensitive to these insults on the part of France as any of the federalists. His speech to congress was couched in warmer and more spirited terms than even Washington would have used. The drawing up an answer to this, occasioned a full fortnight's debate in the house of representatives; but at length, a reply correspondent to the

president's tone and views was carried by fifty-one or fifty-two voices against forty-eight.

This showed the balance of parties; proved that Adams still kept the ascendancy, by a small majority, that Washington had done; and that the dread of French influence prevailed over the suspicion endeavoured to be raised of monarchism and an arbitrary executive. France, however, was a formidable enemy. Tidings of her victories poured in, whilst those from England told of bank payments suspended, a mutiny in the fleet, and the abandonment of her best continental ally.

Three envoys, Messrs. Pinkney, Marshall, and Gerry, were appointed to proceed to France, and attempt once more to avert a war, if it could be done consistently with the national interest and honour. All important business was at a stand in America during the latter end of 1797, and beginning of 1798, owing to uncertainty as to the result of this mission.

On its arrival the envoys were informed by M. Talleyrand, the minister for foreign affairs, that they could not be received by the directory. They had permission to remain in Paris, however, and the agents of Talleyrand were employed to negotiate with them. The true difficulty in the way of accommodation, in addition to the impertinent arrogance of the directory, seemed to be that the leaders of that immaculate body received a great part of the gains accruing from American prizes made by the French. A treaty would have cut off this resource. In order to make up for the anticipated deficiency Talleyrand demanded a *douceur* of 250,000 dollars for himself and the other leaders of the directory, besides a loan to be afterwards made from America to France.

To exact these conditions, every argument that meanness could suggest was employed by Talleyrand: he demanded to be fee'd as a lawyer, or bribed as a friend. But the American envoys were inexorable; and two of their number returned, to announce to their countrymen the terms on which peace was offered. The cupidity of the French government completely turned against it the tide of popular feeling in America. 'Millions for defence, not a cent for tribute,' was instantly the general cry; and the president felt his hands strengthened by the demands of the French. Certainly never minister showed himself less sagacious than did M. Talleyrand in this affair, or more ignorant of the spirit and manners of a nation amongst whom he had resided.

Congress voted an army of twelve new regiments, with engineers and artillery corps. Washington was appointed its commander-in-chief, an office which he accepted with unfeigned reluctance, although he approved of the course of the government. A naval armament, too, was decided upon, and a new department—that of the navy—erected into a ministerial office, giving a seat in the cabinet. A land tax passed congress. An alien law was passed for getting rid of Volney, Collot, and other French emissaries; and a sedition bill followed it, which was loudly complained of by the republicans. Communication with France was prohibited; orders issued for capturing any of her vessels that might appear off the coasts; and all treaties with that country were declared to be void. These successive steps were not taken without the opposition of a strong minority in congress, of whom the vice-president, Mr. Jefferson, may be considered the leader.

A great part, however, of this animosity against France, proceeded from an apprehension that she meant to invade America, and to interfere under the pretext of giving her some larger share of liberty, such as she had forcibly imposed upon Switzerland. When, however, it was seen that France had no such ideas of offensive war, and when Talleyrand explained away his former arrogance by more recent declarations to Mr. Gerry, the envoy who had latest left France, and still later by overtures made through Pichon, the French *chargé d'affaires* at the Hague, to Mr. Murray, there was somewhat of a re-action.

This became evident in 1799, when the weight of the additional taxes and restrictions had begun to be felt. Several states petitioned for the repeal of the alien and sedition laws; whilst in others there was a general resistance to the officers employed in taking the valuation preparatory to the land tax. This last spirit showed itself chiefly in the western part of Pennsylvania. The president had, however, anticipated this re-action in favour of peace, by appointing Mr. Murray plenipotentiary to the French republic, with a proviso, however, that he was not to enter their territories before he was assured of an honourable reception.

The directory had fallen ere that took place; and Bonaparte who as first consul succeeded to their power, had no mercenary interest in prolonging the state of hostility. This was accordingly discontinued, and a final treaty of peace was signed betwixt France and America in the course of the year 1800.

The war, while it lasted, had given rise to some encounters at sea which afforded a promise of the future glories of the American navy. One of these was a very severe action between the American frigate *Constellation* of 38 guns, commanded by Commodore Truxton, and the French frigate *l'Insurgente* of 40 guns, which terminated in the capture of the latter. Truxton, in a subsequent engagement, compelled another French frigate mounting no less than 50 guns to strike her colours; but she afterwards made her escape in the night.

Before this war had terminated, Washington was removed from the scene of his earthly glories. He died after an illness of only a few hours, occasioned by cold and consequent inflammation of the throat, at Mount Vernon, on the 14th of December, 1799. Neither congress nor the nation were wanting in that universal tribute of mourning and veneration due to the illustrious founder of their common freedom. Perhaps the most sensible mark of this veneration was the removal of the seat of government to the federal city, of which the site was selected by Washington, and which was dignified with his name. In November, 1800, congress opened its sittings at Washington for the first time.

A new trial of strength was now about to take place between the federal and republican parties, as the four years' term of Mr. Adams's government was about to expire. That statesman, it has been seen, was elected by the predominance of federal principles, in the north-eastern states, as well as by an opinion that his own political feelings were moderate. No sooner, however, was he possessed of the sovereign functions, than he entered with zeal into anti-Gallican measures, and both congress and the country were borne full sail along with him. Adams was thus carried on in a kind of triumph, and at a speed that left him little master of his course, or of prudent management. Although jealous of Hamilton, and anxious not to tread in his footsteps, the president had flung himself among the Hamiltonian party: and they, as well as his own heat, led him into a series of acts, which displayed all the unpopular tendencies of the federalists.

Fleets and armies, judicial offices, taxes and places were increased; and such strong acts passed, for the restraint of sedition and foreign agents, as were evidently dangerous to civil liberty. This became more clear, as the martial ardour and indignation of the country cooled; and the strong reaction, which we have noticed, took place against Adams and

the federalists. In vain did the former try to shake off this party, and show himself distinct from them, in the appointment of fresh envoys to France, and in the terms of the treaty concluded. It was too late; the tide of popular feeling ebbed from the federalists towards the republicans, and Adams was of course included against the former.

On the important question of the presidential election, it was the populous state of New York that held the balance. Hitherto its elections had been federal, but now, from the causes already enumerated, this state began to incline towards the democratic party. There was a personage at this time in New York, most active in canvassing for republican votes, and turning the tide against the federalists. This was Colonel Burr, a man of some talents, much intrigue, and very little principle. Yet so strongly was felt the importance of his agency and his exertions, that although unknown as an actor in the war of independence, and little known since, he was generally put in nomination throughout all the states, in common with Jefferson, on the republican interest.

When the votes were counted, Adams, supported by the federalists, was found completely in the minority. Jefferson and Burr were the names foremost upon the list; and by a singular fatality, they had an equal number of votes. As the constitution had provided that the candidate having the greatest number of votes should be president, and the one having the second number should be vice-president, it now became a question who was entitled to the highest office. The circumstance of equality in the number of votes of two candidates, gave the power of election to the house of representatives; and hither, accordingly, all the efforts of party and intrigue were directed. Some of the federalists proposed appointing a temporary executive, and proceeding to a new election by the people. But the republicans, knowing that it had been the intention of the people to elect Jefferson president, would listen to no terms of compromise. Thirty-five ballotings took place in the house, before a decision was obtained; and then Jefferson prevailed over his opponent, and was declared president, Burr becoming vice-president. The question was decided in February, 1801.

The unqualified disapprobation, and extensive desertion of the people from the administration to the opposition party, occasioned by some of the anti-republican measures of Mr. Adams's administration, evince a determination which has ever

been inflexible in the Americans, to adhere to the essential principles of liberty, even though it should require the sacrifice of men distinguished by the highest talents, political experience, and public services, 'Principles, not men,' is their motto.

CHAPTER XXXV.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

As the ever large body of the politically timid, who invariably desert the unsuccessful, now passed over to the side of Jefferson, their accession, together with the popular support of his own party, gave him a stronger power than had been wielded since the first year of Washington. He now proceeded to redeem his promises of retrenchment and reform. He reduced the army, the navy, the supreme judicial court, and the taxes, more especially the odious excise.

What he called the *levees* of the president, were done away with; and as the appearance of the first magistrate in person, to address congress, savoured too much, in his opinion, of the regal custom of Great Britain, this was to be discontinued, and future communications from the executive to the legislature were to be made in writing. He removed from office some of the most violent of his opponents, professing to make a distinction, however, between the monarchical and the republican federalists.

The judges were irremovable by law, and into the judiciary the 'federalists retired as into a stronghold.' It was in the treasury department that Jefferson, chiefly, and with most alacrity, plied the pruning knife of reform. The abolition of internal taxes enabled him to do away with a great number of offices; and by taking measures for gradually paying the debt, he led the way towards undermining that great patronage and influence of this department, which the democrats of that period pronounced the most criminal and anti-republican work of the federalists. It is undoubtedly true that the influence of the treasury is dangerous to the purity and integrity of republican institutions; and this is equally true, whether the nation be deeply in debt, or free from debt, with an over-

flowing treasury. Jefferson was right, therefore, not only in aiming at the payment of the public debt, but in reducing the receipts of the treasury to the absolute wants of the government.

He has thus described his first year's work, in a letter to Kosciusko.

'The session of the first congress, convened since republicanism has recovered its ascendancy, is now drawing to a close. They will pretty completely fulfil all the desires of the people. They have reduced the army and navy to what is barely necessary. They are disarming executive patronage and preponderance, by putting down one-half the offices of the United States, which are no longer necessary. These economies have enabled them to suppress all the internal taxes, and still to make such provision for the payment of their public debt, as to discharge that in eighteen years. They have lopped off a parasite limb, planted by their predecessors, on their judiciary body, for party purposes; they are opening the doors of hospitality to the fugitives from the oppressions of other countries; and we have suppressed all their public forms and ceremonies, which tended to familiarise the public eye to the harbinger of another form of government.'

The Americans were congratulating themselves that the restoration of peace in Europe, by the late treaty between England and France, would, by opening the ports of these nations to America, and ridding the sea of obstruction, bring about a season of commercial prosperity, such as they had not yet been able to enjoy. The reconciliation of enemies, however, in general, turns to the disadvantage, rather than the advantage, of neutrals. So the Americans found, upon learning that Spain had ceded the province of Louisiana to France; and that Great Britain looked on, well pleased, at an arrangement that would give so troublesome a neighbour as France, to the United States.

The attention of Napoleon, who then governed France, was necessarily directed to the recovery of that colonial force which had been lost during the war. His present amity with Britain opening the ocean to the French fleets, enabled the first consul to form plans of empire in the only region where England would permit and might applaud the attempt. An expedition was fitted out to recover St. Domingo from the insurgent blacks. After its conquest, the army was to take possession of Louisiana; and these united would give to

France a certain preponderance in the West Indies, as well as commercial advantages highly to be desired. By these means, indeed, they would have the full command of the Mississippi, and the Gulf Stream itself.

The president no sooner learned these arrangements, than he wrote to Mr. Livingston, the envoy at Paris, to represent there the inexpediency of them, and the danger that would accrue to the good feeling between the people of all nations; he was directed to urge that France was peculiarly the one which offered no point of collision with the United States, and which had been considered, in consequence, their 'natural friend;' that, moreover, there was but one spot on the globe, whose possessor became the natural and immediate enemy of the states; that this was New Orleans, through which three-eighths of American produce must pass, to find a market, and that France, by assuming this position, took an attitude of defiance and hostility. In this state of contiguity it was hopeless to think of amity between France and America. The latter country would be compelled to fling herself into the arms of Great Britain, and to unite with that power in sweeping France from the seas, and subverting all her transatlantic dominion.

Towards the close of his instructions, the president urged, that should France, considering Louisiana as an essential adjunct to her West India possessions, remain fixed in the resolve to keep it, the envoy was directed to demand, at least, the cession of the Floridas and New Orleans for a sum of money; though even this alternative was stated as not likely to remove the cause of enmity existing in the newly acquired vicinity of France.

Napoleon was, of course, not likely to yield to anything which had the appearance of a threat; and the right which the Americans had hitherto enjoyed, of a depot at New Orleans, was suspended by the Spanish authorities in October, 1802. The western states were instantly in a flame at a prohibition which, rightful or not, had the effect of suspending their commerce.

Many of them determined to assert their right by arms; and Jefferson, notwithstanding his partiality for France, would have found himself embarked inevitably in a war with that country had not other events occurred to obviate the necessity, and to preserve peaceably for the United States more than was the object of their desires. Fortune, as well as his own

prudence and address, now enabled Jefferson to effect the most solid achievement of his administration.

France, having failed in the attempt to subdue St. Domingo, and, in addition to this, a fresh breach with England growing daily more imminent, the schemes of the first consul with respect to Louisiana became impracticable. He could not hope to retain it: so that, instead of accepting the offer of Jefferson to pay Spain for the Floridas, he proposed to sell Louisiana itself. The American envoys, Livingston and Monroe, accepted the offer, and the immense tracts then called Louisiana, but embracing all our vast territory west of the Mississippi, were added to the United States for the sum of fifteen million dollars.

When it was afterwards objected, that the Floridas and New Orleans would have formed a more important acquisition, the president replied, that now the Floridas were surrounded, and could not in time be prevented from becoming ours, a prediction which has since been accomplished.

Another objection made to the acquisition was, that the western states had already a considerable tendency to separate from their eastern brethren; and that when reinforced by Louisiana, with New Orleans for a probable capital, they would infallibly, one day or other, separate and form a new union.

The president boldly replied to this, that he saw no inconvenience in the separation; that he only looked upon the Atlantic states and the Mississippi ones as elder and younger brethren, who might remain united as long as it was for their interest and happiness; and that there could be no objection to their separating as soon as it should be for their advantage so to do.

The Barbary states still gave great impediment to the commerce of the United States. Agreements had, indeed, been entered into with the two principal ones, and sums of money sacrificed to secure the respect of the African corsairs. But the lesser of these powers having unsuccessfully demanded a similar indulgence, the pacha of Tripoli declared and commenced war. A force under commodore Preble was despatched into the Mediterranean. One of the ships, the Philadelphia, in reconnoitering the harbour of Tripoli, run aground and was taken. The subsequent recapture and burning of this ship, under the guns of the Tripolitan batteries and corsairs, was one of the most brilliant achievements of Decatur,

who was then a lieutenant, and accomplished this famous feat in a small schooner with but seventy-six men.

The war with Tripoli, however, would have probably effected little, but for the enterprise of the United States' consul at Algiers. This gentleman, whose name was Eaton, discovered a pretender to the government of Tripoli, in an exiled brother of the reigning pacha. The consul sought him out across the desert, collected a body of adventurers such as haunt those wilds, and invaded the Tripolitan territory from land, whilst the American fleet lent its aid by sea. The city of Derne was actually taken by storm; and subsequently defended with success against the Tripolitans. These operations lasted until the 11th of June, 1805, when the arrival of the frigate *Constitution* in the harbour put an end to them by bringing an announcement that peace had already been concluded between the American agent, Mr. Lear, and the reigning pacha.

The romantic and high-spirited expedition of Eaton was thus terminated in a most unromantic style; for by the treaty, the agent agreed to abandon the pretender, and pay sixty thousand dollars ransom for the American prisoners. Such an arrangement, made at such a moment, could not be acceptable to the nation; but the treaty was, nevertheless, ratified, and the war of Tripoli terminated.

In 1804, a new election of president and vice-president took place. Mr. Jefferson was re-elected to the former office, having received all but fourteen votes; and George Clinton, of New York, was elected vice-president. During Mr. Jefferson's first term of office, (1802,) Ohio was admitted into the union, and began its astonishing career of advancement in population and wealth. Tennessee had been admitted in 1796.

Colonel Burr, having received the votes of the federal party when the election of Mr. Jefferson was effected by the house of representatives, had lost the favour of the republicans. In 1804, he was proposed for the office of governor of New York, and received the votes of many of the federalists. Colonel Hamilton, who heartily despised him as an adventurer in politics, opposed his election, and was defeated. This circumstance led to a dispute, and a challenge from Burr. The parties met, and Hamilton was mortally wounded. No circumstance of the kind ever occasioned so strong a feeling of regret throughout the country as this fatal duel.

Burr now disappeared from public notice for a time; and when he next appeared upon the stage, it was in a new career of unprincipled ambition in the south-western part of the union.

All attempts to liberate the Spanish colonies, and communicate the same freedom and independence to the southern portion of America, which was already enjoyed by the northern, were naturally popular in the United States. General Miranda had planned such an expedition against Caraccas, and had sailed from New York with this view, although Jefferson had given him no protection. Of this last, however, some have expressed doubts; for Spain had long resisted the transfer of Louisiana, had made an inroad into it in one instance, and there were serious and mutual causes of complaint between the countries.

Colonel Burr, considering this state of things, formed a project for fitting out an expedition in the western part of the Union, and proceeding thence to the conquest of Mexico. As a first step to this, he was to seize upon New Orleans, which was necessary to his enterprise. This having been long a favourite project of the western settlers, Burr reckoned upon the support of the thousands—in fact of the whole region west of the Alleghanies—which he calculated would place him in a position to defy the control of the president himself, were he tempted to interfere.

However popular the idea had been, Burr overlooked the material change in circumstances effected by the acquisition of Louisiana, which in fact, gratified all the wants and wishes of the western people. A more criminal part of the enterprise was an understanding with the Spanish governor in Mexico, for separating the western from the Atlantic states, and forming, as it were, another Union for himself, since the old had spurned him. The fact of overtures of this kind having been made cannot be doubted, but their sincerity may well be questioned; and that Burr, however serious his designs were upon Mexico, ever designed to separate the Union is denied by his friends, some of whom were, and are, of great respectability.

However this may be, he trusted too much to the good will of those who witnessed his preparations. Intelligence of his proceedings was conveyed to the government. Measures were taken for counteracting them, and making him prisoner; and, being at length obliged to fly, he was arrested on his way to Mobile by some of the country people, and conveyed to

Richmond. His trial, on a charge of treason, of course, drew forth a great deal of political feeling, and gave rise to many unpleasant circumstances; but for want of sufficient evidence he was finally acquitted, and allowed to transport himself to Europe. His career as a politician was now at an end.

The conduct of France and England, in committing depredations on the commerce of the United States, had now begun to produce a great deal of irritation. Complaints against England, particularly, were loud and clamorous. In 1804, the president, in his message to congress, had congratulated them, that annoyances to trade had ceased in Europe, though they still existed in the American seas. In December, 1805, however, he announced that the aspect of foreign relations was totally changed. He represented the coasts as infested by foreign privateers, who made a practice of burning those captures to which they thought their claim questionable; and by public vessels which pryed into every creek and harbour. He spoke of new principles of commerce adopted, by which belligerents take to themselves the right of trading with the hostile country, which they deny to neutrals. He concluded by expressing a doubt, whether there was need of increasing the army; but the militia, he recommended, should be put in a state of defence.

These warlike intimations were occasioned by the decrees of the British Admiralty, which had the effect of prohibitory laws upon American commerce, inasmuch as they declared such vessels as were engaged in conveying West India produce from the United States to Europe, legal prizes. The Americans having in their hands nearly the whole carrying trade of the world, during Napoleon's wars, could not but feel these decrees as levelled particularly at themselves.

As soon, therefore, as they were known, they excited the greatest indignation in the country. Meetings were held in each commercial city, petitions were forwarded to congress, and the republicans clamoured loudly for retaliation; so that the president did but obey the public voice in making this vigorous and almost menacing address. Not content with it, he followed it up by a message of the same import, in the January following.

The federalists objected that France and Spain committed equal encroachments, without exciting the president's ire in any such proportion. But in this they exaggerated, since the perseverance of England in impressing American seamen,

and searching American ships for deserters, and that even upon our own coasts, produced daily causes of grievance far more numerous and irritating than the decrees of Napoleon. In the spring, the British ship *Leander*, then on a cruise off New York, practised the most rigid search and annoyances towards the vessels from that port. On one occasion a shot from it killed an American sailor of the name of Pearce. No sooner did a report of this reach the United States government, than a proclamation appeared, mentioning the murder, forbidding any communication between the shore and the ship, and in fact ordering it off the coast. This was followed by a more serious legislative act, against any further importation of British manufactures, the restriction to date from the ensuing November.

Meantime, in May, 1806, the British orders in council were passed, declaring several European ports under control of the French, to be in a state of blockade, and of course authorising the capture of American vessels bound for them.

In the month of June, 1807, an event occurred of an extremely irritating character. The British man-of-war *Leopard*, coming up with the American frigate *Chesapeake*, near the coast of the United States, fired into her, killed three of her men, and wounded eighteen more. The *Chesapeake* being a vessel of inferior force, and unprepared for action, struck her colours. She was then boarded by the British, her crew mustered, and four of them carried off under pretence that they were British deserters. They were subsequently tried at Halifax, and one of them hanged, by way of establishing the rightfulness of the impressment. The other three were proved to be Americans, who had been impressed by the British, and had escaped from their service.

The intelligence of this outrage was received with a burst of indignation throughout the country. Meetings of the citizens were very generally held, and, forgetting party distinctions, all united in resolutions to support the government in any measures of retaliation or redress which might be adopted. The president issued a proclamation, forbidding British ships of war the ports and harbours of the United States, and instructed the American ministers at the court of St. James's to demand satisfaction for the insult. He also summoned the congress to meet, and take the subject into consideration.

The act of the naval officer was promptly disavowed by

the British government, who also forbade the right of search, which they claimed, to be extended to ships of war; but as no adequate reparation was offered, this outrage remained unforgiven; and contributed to keep alive the hostile feeling already excited by the aggressions of the British on our commerce.

By his Berlin decree of 1806, Napoleon had forbidden the introduction of any English goods to the continent of Europe, even in neutral vessels, and shut the harbours of France against any vessel that should touch at an English port. The English, in retaliation, first prohibited the trade of neutrals from port to port, belonging to their enemy; and afterwards declared the whole coast of Europe in a state of blockade, prohibiting neutrals altogether from trade with the continent.

Napoleon, on learning that this measure had been adopted, thundered forth his famous Milan decree, confiscating not only the vessels that should touch at a British port, but such as should submit to be searched by the English. This was carrying hostilities to an extreme on both sides. The great powers of the land and sea, unable to measure their strength, since each was predominant on its own element, came to vent their blows upon America.

It was in vain that the government of the United States expostulated with them. To England it denied having submitted to the decrees of the French ruler; to the latter it represented the indefeasible rights of neutrals. 'Join with me in bringing England to reason,' was the reply of Napoleon, who was blind to all objects and reasons, but that of humbling his arch enemy. America was, in consequence, left to choose which of the belligerents she would take for an enemy, since both at once might prove too powerful for her, and neutrality, persevered in, only exposed her vessels to capture without retaliation—to the disadvantages, in fact, without the advantages of war.

The American ships being so much exposed to capture, congress, in December, 1807, decreed an embargo, or prohibition to American vessels to leave their ports, a measure which operated far more to the disadvantage of England and of American merchants, than of France. Mr. Jefferson, in his correspondence, acknowledges this to have been a measure preparatory to war, allowing the merchants to recall home their ships and sailors, and the country to put itself in

a posture of defence. The embargo caused much distress, and many murmurs especially in the New England states; but the edict was rigidly enforced by the government.

During the year 1808, no progress was made towards an accommodation. To demands made by the United States of both the great European rivals, to recall their obnoxious decrees, France made no answer; whilst Mr. Canning returned one that was considered insulting. In the meantime, the distress in the United States, occasioned by the embargo, became so great as to occasion a considerable defection from the government party. In New England, particularly, the Federalists acquired a decided majority, and Massachusetts boldly remonstrated against the edict, and recommended its repeal.

In the autumn of 1808, Mr. Jefferson having signified his intention of retiring from office at the expiration of his second term, James Madison was elected to succeed him, and George Clinton was re-elected to the office of vice-president. In March, 1809, he retired to his farm at Monticello, to pass the remainder of his life in literary leisure, and the society of a large circle of admiring friends, who were constantly repairing to his residence to interchange the offices of kindness and attention.

The following remarks on the character of Jefferson are from a foreign writer, who appears to express himself with impartiality on American events and characters:—

‘However secondary the name and fame of Jefferson may seem to those classic ones of the revolution—Washington and Franklin—his influence is likely to be much more considerable and permanent than that of these memorable persons. Their efforts, in conjunction with his, were directed to the great general task of freedom and independence; but, in addition to this, Jefferson has founded a school of political principle and party, which has swallowed up all others in the United States, and which is likely to be professed more or less by every free people. His principles are those, no doubt, of the French republicans; but their short-lived and stormy reign never allowed time for the developement of a principle. They proclaimed them, but had not time to act upon them, before they were cut down. But Jefferson stood long enough, and wrote, and spoke, and overcame, so as to infuse his own spirit into the majority. He exists, indeed, in history, as a model of a republican statesman—bold and levelling in his

principles, and shrinking from none of their consequences. From some of these, from both perhaps, the monarchist of Europe may shrink. But argument is idle on such a subject, the great phenomenon is there, and, though yet incomplete, the experiment is in progress. The political government that Jefferson conceived is realised in that of the United States; and should it prove a happy one, durable, prosperous, and great, (and there is every prospect of its continuing, as there is proof of its being so,) it will be vain to find fault with the principles which have given birth to such a state. Of Jefferson's private honesty there is irrefragable proof. The property of one who had been the greater part of his life either the minister or the sovereign of his country, was sold to pay his debts.'

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMENCEMENT OF MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE public services of Mr. Madison had fully entitled him to the first office of the state. We have seen that he was one of the first authors of the federal constitution, and had been most active in recommending it to the adoption of his countrymen. His subsequent career had not been marked as that of a partisan. He was declared to want the strong anti-British feeling of his predecessor, and it was now confidently hoped, that an accommodation between the United States and the leading maritime power of Europe might speedily take place.

In March 1809, the embargo law was repealed, and an act passed prohibiting all intercourse between this country and both France and Great Britain. A provision was inserted in this non-intercourse law, that if either of the belligerent nations should revoke her hostile edicts, the law should cease to be in force with respect to that nation.

The repeal of the embargo, and the substitution of a less obnoxious act, offered a fit and favourable pretext for renewing negotiations. Mr. Erskine was accordingly sent out by the British government, to treat, and considering the suspension of the non-intercourse a fair equivalent for that of the orders

in council, he stipulated that the orders should cease to be in force at a certain epoch. The president accordingly suspended the non-intercourse. But tidings no sooner reached England of the act of Mr. Erskine, than he was disavowed. The orders in council were suspended only so far as not to endanger those vessels which had sailed from America on the faith of Mr. Erskine's declaration. The president, in consequence, declared the non-intercourse act still in force, and the silent war of prohibitory edicts continued on its old footing.

Mr. Erskine was recalled, and Mr. Jackson sent in his place. The latter was ill chosen, since there was some cause which rendered him particularly obnoxious to the Americans. He was coldly received, and made to wait even for his recognition for some time. His endeavours to renew the negotiation were met by the remark of the inutility of such an attempt, and by an allusion to the duplicity of the British government in the affair of Erskine. Jackson retorted with warmth, and insinuated that the American government were, at the time of his negotiation, aware that Erskine had exceeded his powers, and that his acts would not be sanctioned by his government. This charge being promptly denied and insultingly repeated, further communication with Jackson was declined, and his recall demanded of the minister in London.

France having been applied to by America at this time, the emperor replied, that his decrees were but retaliation; and that if England recalled her blockade and her orders in council, he would suffer his decrees to be considered null. Mr. Madison, availing himself of this fair offer of Napoleon, obtained from congress resolutions approving his high tone of policy towards England.

Preparations for war continued with activity; and the people already began to turn their attention and activity towards the domestic production of those manufactures which had been heretofore supplied by England; and the English began to seek elsewhere those commodities which the United States had furnished. She sought them in Canada chiefly. The alienation and mutual injury thus worked by commercial prohibitions were, perhaps, greater than could have come of actual war.

The non-intercourse act expiring in 1810, the Americans again summoned the two powers to remove their restrictions. This was asked with the manifest purpose of declaring war

if the restrictions were not removed. Napoleon replied by an amicable advance, intimating through his minister that his decrees should be suspended. It was understood by him, of course, that America should no longer submit to the orders in council if unrepealed.

To the English ministry an appeal was now made to follow the example of France. Unfortunately for them, they hesitated, chicaned as to the supposed insincerity of the French declaration, or the informality of its announcement, and persisted in enforcing the orders in council. Mr. Pinkney, the American envoy in London, disgusted at this shuffling behaviour of the British government, demanded his audience of leave.

In this doubtful state of connection between America and England, another accidental collision took place between vessels of the respective countries, tending much to inflame and widen the existing differences. An English sloop of war, the *Little Belt*, commanded by Captain Bingham, descried a ship off the American coast, and made sail to come up with it; but finding it a frigate, and dubious of its nation, he retired. The other, which proved to be American, the *President*, under Captain Rogers, pursued in turn. The American captain hailed, and, instead of an answer, received a shot in his mainmast. He returned the fire, and speedily silenced the guns of his adversary, disabling his ship and killing thirty-two of his men.

In the spring of 1811, Mr. Foster was sent out plenipotentiary from England, to make another attempt at negotiation. But, as he had no power for stipulating the repeal of the orders in council, his mission was illusive; it was merely productive of argument and diplomatic pleading between him and Mr. Monroe; and he returned without having effected anything.

In November congress assembled, and the president addressed it fully respecting the points and consequences of the still widening difference. It was hoped, he said, at the close of the last session, that the confirmation of the extinction of the French decrees would have induced the government of Great Britain to repeal its orders in council: on the contrary, however, they had been put into more vigorous execution; and fresh outrages had been committed on the American coasts.

Congress, convinced of the necessity of preparing in ear-

nest for war, voted an increase of the regular army to 35,000 men; augmented the navy, and empowered the president to accept of the services of volunteers, call out the militia, as occasion might require, and borrow eleven millions of dollars.

In his message to congress, the president adverted to a new spirit of hostility displayed among the north-western Indians. This was attributed to the influence of the British. It was also stimulated by the exertions of an Indian prophet, a reformer, who preached to his red brethren, that all their disasters had been owing to their having forsaken the wise and simple habits of their ancestors; and that he had been prompted by the Great Spirit to warn them from mingling with the whites, from eating hogs and bullocks in lieu of the game that used to give them the warrior's and the hunter's spirit; and, above all, from the use of ardent spirits. This last wise injunction gave force and plausibility to all that the savage uttered. His fanatic advice, however salutary, in one respect, necessarily produced hatred towards the whites, and outrages upon them. Many affirmed that the hostile spirit thus excited was directed by the British against the Americans.

In the autumn of 1811, General Harrison was sent into the country of these hostile Indians, to treat or fight with them, as occasion might require. On the 6th of November, being arrived at Tippecanoe, their chief settlement, he was met by a deputation from the chiefs, who stipulated that no attack should be made before the next day, when they would be ready for a friendly conference.

In the night the American camp was suddenly and furiously assaulted by the Indians; but the Americans, having suspected treachery and slept on their arms, made a gallant resistance, defeated and dispersed the enemy, and burnt their town, not, however, without a severe loss in killed and wounded.

In the month of February, 1812, Captain John Henry, formerly of the United States army, and afterwards resident in Canada, gave information to the president, that in 1809 he had been employed by Sir James Craig, the governor of Canada, upon a secret mission to the New England states, for the purpose of gaining information of the state of parties, and inducing those who were opposed to the restrictions of the American government on commerce, to effect a separation of the northern states from the Union, and form a poli-

tical connection between those states and Great Britain. For this information Henry was paid 50,000 dollars, from the contingent fund for foreign intercourse. He furnished ample documentary evidence of the truth of his disclosures, which was afterwards fully corroborated by developements made in the British parliament. But his mission had entirely failed, and it did not appear that he had succeeded in bringing any individual in this country to adopt his views. His motive for disclosure was the failure of his employers to compensate him for his services. This affair proved the hostile disposition of the government of Great Britain towards the United States, and served to increase the irritation already created in this country, by the injuries inflicted on our commerce, and the impressment of our seamen.

Preparations for war were still actively continued by congress until the 20th of May, 1812, when the arrival of the *Hornet* from London, bringing information that no reasonable prospect existed of a change in the measures of the British government, served to bring matters to a crisis. On the 1st of June the president transmitted to congress a message enumerating the injuries received from Great Britain, and submitting the question, whether they should be longer endured, or immediate recourse had to the ultimate resort of injured nations, a declaration of war.

After deliberating on this measure with closed doors, an act was passed by congress, on the 18th, declaring war against Great Britain. The immediate effect of this measure was a violent exasperation of parties, the friends of government applauding the act, as spirited and patriotic, and the opposition condemning it as unnecessary, unjustifiable, and impolitic. In the New England states particularly, where the revolutionary war found its most active supporters, the most decisive opposition was manifested, and every effort was used on the part of the political leaders to render the war unpopular, and to embarrass the government in its prosecution.

Some of those who opposed the war, held that it was both unjustifiable and inexpedient; while others allowed that abundant provocation had been given, but denied that the nation was sufficiently prepared for the conflict. The minority of congress, the legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Jersey, and several of the commercial cities, protested against the war in public addresses. But a majority

of the people of the United States was undoubtedly in favour of the measure. In some places the act declaring it was received with illuminations and rejoicings, and the cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, passed resolutions approving of the conduct of government, and pledging themselves to support it.

The popular voice was so strongly in favour of war, in the city of Baltimore, that an editor who had ventured to indulge in some severe strictures on the conduct of the government, had his press and printing-office destroyed by the populace; and when he persisted in publishing the paper, printing it in a neighbouring town, he and a party of his friends, who had volunteered in forcibly defending his house, were very severely handled. Several lives were lost in this affair, and among the rest that of General Lingan, a veteran officer, who had served with distinction in the revolution.

The distress occasioned among the people of New England by the suspension of their commerce and the cutting off of their usual supply of provisions from the south, served still further to heighten the exasperation felt in that portion of the country. A large proportion of the commercial interest in other parts of the Union participated in this feeling, so that, although a numerical majority of the people of the United States was in favour of the measure, it by no means united the various classes of society so strongly in support of the government as the attack on their liberties had done at the opening of the revolutionary contest. Whatever disagreement there might be, however, among the political parties of that period, time has afforded ample evidence that the war was not declared too soon for the national honour or welfare.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1812.

WHEN the war of independence commenced, the United States contained less than four millions of inhabitants, and had neither an army, a treasury, nor a national existence. But it possessed a people united in purpose, and firmly resolved to vindicate their rights. At the opening of the war

of 1812, the country had eight millions of inhabitants, great resources of wealth, and all the elements of an efficient army and navy. But the people were divided in sentiment, indisposed for war by a long continuance of peace, and unfit for its successful prosecution by inexperience and irresolution. Their early movements in the new contest were marked by a character of indecision corresponding with this want of preparation. It was not till near the close of the conflict that the national spirit was fully roused; and the results at that period were such as to show that when fairly and heartily embarked in a contest, the people possess the same spirit and the same moral power which carried them so nobly through the struggle for independence.

In organising the army, Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, was appointed major-general and commander-in-chief. He had served in the revolutionary contest, and had subsequently borne the office of secretary of war. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, also received a commission as major-general, and Wilkinson, Hampton, Bloomfield, and Hull were among the brigadier-generals.

The army, which until the year 1808 had numbered no more than 3,000 men, had then been augmented to 6,000. In January, 1812, congress had directed a force of upwards of 25,000 to be raised, so that the entire force authorised by law now exceeded 35,000, including officers; and consisted of seventeen regiments of infantry, three of artillery, one of light artillery, two of dragoons, and one rifle regiment. In addition to this, the president was authorised to accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding 50,000, who were to be armed and equipped by the United States; and a similar authority was given to him to call upon the governors of states for detachments of militia, the whole of which was not to exceed 100,000.

Though apparently formidable, this force wanted many of the requisites of an efficient army. The act authorising the raising of 25,000 men, had been passed so short a time before the declaration of war, that scarcely one-fourth of that number was enlisted; and these were by no means in a high state of discipline. The volunteers and militia were yet to be called for, as occasion might require, and their services were considered of very doubtful utility. Even in the revolutionary war, they had been pronounced by high authority, a most inefficient species of force, and the long peace had

certainly not increased their efficiency. The officers, however, who had the direction of the military force, had served with distinction, and high hopes were entertained of a successful campaign.

The whole navy of the United States consisted of but 10 frigates, five of which were laid up in ordinary, 10 sloops and smaller vessels, and 165 gun-boats, only 60 of which were in commission. With this trifling force, war was commenced with a power that numbered a thousand ships afloat, and boasted herself the mistress of the ocean. The commerce and fisheries of the United States, however, had given her the elements of a navy; and if the Americans had not many ships, subsequent events proved that they had men; and that the efficiency of a navy depends more upon its discipline and courage than upon the size and number of its vessels.

The plan of operations at the commencement of the war, was to garrison and defend the sea-board principally by occasional calls on the militia, aided by a few of the regular troops, the whole to be under the direction of the generals of the regular army, stationed at the most important points. The remaining regular troops, with such volunteers as could be procured and a portion of the militia, were to attack the British posts in Upper Canada and subdue them, with the ultimate design of invading and conquering Lower Canada.

With these views, William Hull, the governor of Michigan territory, having been appointed a brigadier-general, on the 25th of May took command of the army destined for the invasion of Canada. On the 1st of June, he rendezvoused at Urbanna, in Ohio. His force consisted of 500 regular troops, and 1,200 Ohio volunteers, under the command of Colonels M'Arthur and Cass. Proceeding in a north-westerly direction, the army marched through a wilderness to Detroit, the capital of Michigan territory, situated on the west bank of Detroit river.

On his arrival at this place, General Hull was joined by the Michigan militia; and expecting the co-operation of General Dearborn on the Niagara frontier, he made his descent on Canada on the 12th of July. He crossed the river and established his head quarters at Sandwich, a village on the opposite bank. Here he issued a proclamation, offering peace and protection to the Canadians who would remain at home, and threatening extermination to such as should be found in arms associated with the Indians. He further de-

clared that he commanded a force sufficient to 'look down all opposition,' which was but the van of a much greater force. In consequence of this proclamation, several hundred Canadian militia joined the Americans, or returned to their homes under General Hull's protection.

Meantime the British had collected a considerable force of Canadians and Indians, and strengthened their garrison at Malden.

Excepting some skirmishing parties under the command of Colonels M'Arthur and Cass, nothing was done to promote the objects of the invasion till August 8th; General Hull remaining during the interval in his encampment at Sandwich. He then gave orders for the main body to re-cross the river and retire to Detroit, abandoning the Canadians who had accepted his protection, to the vengeance of their own government, and disgusting his own men with his inertness and pusillanimity.

Towards the end of July, a reinforcement of 150 volunteers from Ohio, under Captain Brush, who had been ordered to join General Hull, arrived at the river Raisin, thirty-six miles below Detroit. Here they were ordered to await an escort from the camp. Two hundred militia, under Major Vanhorn, being sent on this service, fell into an ambuscade of Indians, and were obliged to retreat, with the loss of 17 killed and 30 wounded.

On the 8th of August, a detachment of 600 men, under Colonel Miller, being despatched on the same service, were attacked by a large body of British and Indians within fourteen miles of Detroit. The enemy was gallantly resisted, and compelled to retreat with a heavy loss; but the detachment returned to Detroit on the 10th, without effecting its object.

While these events were passing, General Brock, the governor of Canada, had been making active preparations for its defence. He issued a proclamation in answer to that of General Hull, reminding the Canadians of their previous prosperity and freedom under the British government, and calling upon them to join his standard. This address was not without effect. The Canadians joined the governor in great numbers, and on the 13th of August, General Brock arrived at Malden, with a respectable force, just after the American troops had retired from the Canadian shore, dispirited and disgusted with their commander. On the 15th, General Brock erected batteries on the bank of the river

opposite Detroit, and summoned the American general to surrender; stating that he should otherwise be unable to restrain the Indians from committing their usual atrocities. This summons was answered by a refusal, and a declaration that the fortress would be defended to the last extremity. The firing from the fortifications on both sides now commenced, and continued with little effect till the next day.

General Hull had by this time become so much alarmed, as to betray his cowardice to his own officers and men, by his appearance and his hasty and irregular measures. On the 12th, the field officers had determined to arrest him, and were only prevented by the absence of Colonels Cass and M'Arthur, who had been detached with 400 men on a third expedition to the river Raisin. On the 15th they received orders to return.

On the 16th the British troops began to cross the river to the American side three miles below the town, under cover of two ships of war. Having landed, they commenced their march towards the fort. Besides the fourth regiment of regular troops stationed in the fort, it was protected by the Ohio volunteers, and a part of the Michigan militia, placed behind the pickets where the whole flank of the British would have been exposed to their fire. The remainder of the militia were stationed in the town of Detroit, for the purpose of resisting the desultory attacks of the savages. Two four-pounders, loaded with grape, were planted on an eminence ready to sweep the advancing columns. M'Arthur and Cass, on their return from the expedition on which they had been ordered, had arrived within view of Detroit, and were ready to attack the enemy in the rear. There was every reason to anticipate a victory, and the troops were eagerly expecting the commencement of the battle.

When the British columns were within 500 yards of the American line, General Hull ordered the troops to retire into the fort, and the artillery not to fire. A white flag was then hoisted, and a British officer rode up to inquire the cause. A communication was opened between the commanding generals, which speedily terminated in a capitulation. The fortress of Detroit, with the garrison, and munitions of war, were surrendered. The detachment under Cass and M'Arthur, and even the troops at the river Raisin, were included in the capitulation. Captain Brush, however, not considering himself bound by Hull's engagement, on being summoned to surrender, broke up his camp and retreated towards Ohio. The

Canadians who had joined Hull, or accepted his protection, were abandoned to their fate, and many of them were subsequently executed as traitors.

Every circumstance which could heighten the disgrace of a surrender was found in the present instance. Hull did not even call a council of his officers. His only object seems to have been to escape from the Indian scalping knife. When he had first entered Canada the British had at Malden but 100 regular troops, 400 Canadian militia, and a few hundred Indians. After General Brock's arrival, their whole force was 330 regulars, 400 militia, and 600 Indians. The army surrendered by General Hull amounted to 2,500 men, of whom 1,200 were militia.

The indignation of the Americans at this disgraceful transaction knew no bounds. When the arrogant proclamation of Hull was contrasted with his subsequent indecisive and timid movements, and his ultimate abandonment of all manhood or decency, his whole conduct was regarded with a unanimous feeling of derision and contempt. The government of course brought him to trial by court martial as soon as he was exchanged. He was charged with treason, cowardice, and neglect of duty, found guilty of the two latter charges, and sentenced to be shot. In consideration of former services his life was spared. The trial did not take place till 1814, but it is mentioned in this connection, in order that the whole affair may be dismissed as speedily as possible from the reader's notice.

The surrender of Hull left the north-western frontier exposed to the incursions of the British and Indians, and occasioned considerable alarm in the neighbouring states. Nearly ten thousand volunteers immediately offered their services to the government; and being placed under the command of General William H. Harrison, marched towards the territory of Michigan. This force, however, was not sufficiently disciplined to act with the efficiency of regular troops, and before anything could be done towards retrieving the important losses of the early part of the campaign, the winter set in. Their operations were chiefly confined to incursions into the country of the Indians who had generally become hostile.

General Van Rensselaer, of the New York militia, had command of what was called the army of the centre, destined also for the invasion of Canada. His force consisted of regulars and militia, who were assembled at Lewistown on the Niagara

river. On the opposite side of the river was a fortified British post, called Queenstown, which was the first object of attack. On the 13th of October a detachment of 1,000 men, led by Colonel Van Rensselaer, crossed the river and effected a landing under a heavy fire from the British.

In the onset the colonel was wounded; and the troops, under Captains Ogilvie and Wood, were led on to the assault of the fortress. They succeeded in capturing it; and a reinforcement of 600 men under General Brock arriving and attacking the victors, were repulsed with the loss of their commander.

General Van Rensselaer had crossed the river; and now returned to bring over a reinforcement of the Americans. But his troops refused to obey the order; and the British receiving another reinforcement, recaptured the fort after a severe engagement, in which the greater part of Colonel Van Rensselaer's detachment was destroyed.

General Van Rensselaer now retired from the service; and was succeeded by General Smyth of Virginia. He commenced operations by issuing a proclamation addressed to the 'men of New York,' and couched in terms similar to those employed by General Hull. He was soon at the head of an army of 4,500 men; and the 28th of November was the day appointed for crossing the river for the third invasion of Canada. The troops were embarked, but the enemy appearing on the opposite shore with a determined front, a council of war was held, and the invasion was postponed till the first of December, when although 1,500 of the men were ready and willing to cross the river, a second council of war decided that it was inexpedient to proceed, and the troops were again debarked. The invasion of Canada at that point was thus finally abandoned for the season.

The army of the north was commanded by General Dearborn. A part of the forces were stationed at Greenbush near Albany, and the remainder at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain. This division of the army effected nothing but an incursion into Canada, in which a small body of British and Indians, and some military stores, were taken. The failure of the other expeditions had the effect of discouraging the general from any serious attempt on the British territory.

Thus upon land the advantages of the first campaign rested altogether with the British. It was at sea, on the element where they felt most secure, that their superiority was more

successfully disputed. On the 19th of August, Captain Hull, in the frigate *Constitution* of 44 guns, encountered the British frigate *Guerriere* of 38 guns, and after an action of thirty minutes reduced her to a complete wreck. Every mast of the British vessel was carried away in the battle, and, as it was found impossible to bring her into port, she was burnt. The loss on the side of the enemy was 50 killed and 64 wounded. The *Constitution* lost 7 killed, and 7 wounded. This victory was hailed with enthusiasm by all parties. Even the opponents of the war united in the honours and rewards which were conferred on the successful commander, and gave entertainments and drank toasts to the success of the 'infant navy.'

This war was followed by a series of naval victories not less brilliant. In the month of October, Captain Jones in the *Wasp* of 18 guns, met and captured the British sloop of war *Frolic* of 22 guns, after a hard fought battle of forty-five minutes, losing but eight of his men, while the loss of the enemy in a vessel one-third his superior was 80 men. The *Wasp* was subsequently captured by a British ship of the line. During the same month, Captain Decatur, in the frigate *United States*, encountered the British frigate *Macedonian*. In this action the American ship had a trifling advantage in the weight of her metal, but this was by no means equal to the disparity of loss, which was 104 killed and wounded on the British side and 11 on the American. The *Macedonian* was safely brought into New York, and the gallant Decatur, the same officer who had so signally distinguished himself at Tripoli, was welcomed with the applause and honours which he had so nobly won.

The *Constitution*, familiarly called by the sailors 'Old Ironsides,' had the good fortune to encounter another British frigate, the *Java* of 38 guns, in December. In this action, which lasted three hours, she was commanded by Captain Bainbridge. The *Java* was dismasted and reduced to a wreck, losing 161 killed and wounded, while the American loss was but 34.

In addition to these victories of the public vessels, the American privateers had succeeded in severely distressing the enemy's commerce, capturing above 500 of their merchantmen during the first seven months of the war.

The success of the Americans on the ocean served to relieve them from the chagrin and discouragement occasioned

by their ill-fated attempts on the British province of Canada. They became sensible that their principal means of defence must consist in the navy, and the exertions of the government were immediately directed to the increase of this efficient branch of the national force. The large number of sailors, deprived of employment by the general suspension of commerce, furnished the first and most important requisite, and more ships were ordered to be built and put in commission.

Meantime the opposition to the measures of government made by the federal party in New England, was by no means relaxed. They criticised and protested against the war with England, pointed out the advantages which would have accrued from one with France, declared their abhorrence of any alliance with Napoleon, reprobated the conduct of government in persisting in war after the revocation of the orders in council, and asserted it to be unconstitutional and illegal to employ the militia of the states in offensive warfare. On the last ground, Massachusetts and Connecticut had refused to furnish their contingent for the invasion of Canada. The friends of government stigmatised this opposition as treason, and by their votes at the election gave decided testimony of their approbation of the war.

The presidential election took place in the autumn of this year. Mr. Madison was, without difficulty, re-elected to his second term of office; whilst Mr. Gerry became vice-president, succeeding Mr. Clinton.

In November congress met. The president, in his message, frankly stated the defeats experienced on the Canadian border, and complained much of the employment of the Indians by the British, thus bringing the horrors of savage warfare upon the land. He also complained of the conduct of Massachusetts and Connecticut, in refusing their contingent of militia. The victories of American ships were cited with just pride, and congress was requested to increase the allowance of the army, which was wholly incompetent.

The British government had offered an armistice, stating as a reason for a suspension of hostilities, the repeal of the orders in council. The president, in reply, had demanded by way of preliminary, towards a settlement of difficulties, some effectual provisions against the impressment of American seamen, and as this was refused, he had declined the offer. A majority of congress now passed resolutions approving of the president's course in this affair.

His request for a more efficient organisation of the army was granted. The pay was increased, and a loan for the purpose authorised; and twenty additional regiments of regular infantry were ordered to be raised.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAMPAIGN OF 1813.

THE people of the western states were naturally anxious to recover the posts which had been lost by General Hull on the north-western frontier; and thus to relieve themselves from the danger of incursions from the British and Indians in that quarter. During the autumn of 1812, General Harrison, who had command of the army in that quarter, was principally occupied in collecting and organising his forces preparatory to a winter campaign. Nothing of importance was effected, as we have already had occasion to remark, before the winter set in.

General Winchester, with a detachment of 750 men, was sent forward in advance of the main body, and while General Harrison was collecting his forces at Sandusky, with a view to join Winchester, and advance upon Malden and Detroit, the latter officer received a pressing call from the inhabitants of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, for protection against the British and Indians assembled at Malden. Advancing within three miles of the town, on the 17th of January, he learned that the enemy had already taken possession of it. He attacked them on the 18th, and drove them from their position with considerable slaughter. On the 20th he advanced to within twenty miles of Malden, where a British force much stronger than his own was stationed.

General Winchester's desire to afford relief to the inhabitants of Frenchtown, had thus brought his detachment into a situation of no little peril. The expedition in which he was engaged had been undertaken without the knowledge of General Harrison, who, on learning his advance, sent for reinforcements, and pushed forward with the main body in hopes of affording him relief.

The British were not slow to perceive their advantage. On the evening of the 21st of January, Colonel Proctor left

Malden with 600 British and Canadian troops, and 1,000 Indians, under the command of their chiefs, Splitlog and Roundhead, and at daybreak, of the 22nd, commenced a furious attack upon the Americans. General Winchester's left wing, amounting to 600 men, was protected by pickets; the right wing, 150 in number, being exposed, was speedily defeated, and nearly the whole massacred by the Indians, who cut off their retreat. A detachment of 100 sent out to their relief shared the same fate. General Winchester and Colonel Lewis in attempting to rally them were made prisoners. The left wing sustained the unequal contest with undaunted valour until eleven o'clock, when General Winchester capitulated for them, stipulating for their protection from the fury of the Indians. This engagement was violated on the next day, when a large body of Indians fell upon the wounded, tomahawked and scalped them, and setting fire to the houses, consumed the dead and the dying in one undistinguished conflagration. In permitting this massacre, Proctor seems to have counted on daunting the courage of the Americans. But the effect was directly the reverse of what was intended. New volunteers, fired by these barbarities, flocked to the standard of their country, and were eventually successful in avenging their murdered fellow-citizens.

General Harrison, having received considerable reinforcements from Kentucky and Ohio, advanced to the rapids of the Miami, and there erected a fort, which he called Fort Meigs, in honour of the governor of Ohio. This position had been selected as a suitable post for receiving reinforcements and supplies from Ohio and Kentucky, protecting the borders of Lake Erie, and concentrating the forces intended for the re-capture of Detroit, and the invasion of Canada.

On the 26th of April, Colonel Proctor with 2,000 regulars, militia, and Indians, from Malden, appeared on the bank of the river opposite the fort, and erecting batteries on an eminence, commenced a regular siege. The Indians crossed the river on the 27th and established themselves in the rear of the American lines. A heavy fire of shot and shells was poured in upon the fort for several days, and on the 3rd of May, a battery was erected on the left bank of the river, within two hundred and fifty yards of the American lines.

General Harrison now received a summons to surrender, which was gallantly refused. On the 5th of May, General Clay, with twelve hundred Kentuckians advanced to the relief

of Fort Meigs, and by a spirited attack, succeeded in driving the besiegers from their works. Eight hundred of his troops having subsequently dispersed in the woods, in pursuit of the Indians, were drawn into an ambuscade, and compelled to surrender. They were saved from massacre only by the decisive interference of the Indian chief Tecumseh, who humanely restrained his followers from their usual atrocities. Of the 800 men only 150 escaped, the remainder being slain or captured. Colonel Proctor seeing no prospect of taking the fort, and being deserted by his Indian allies, who were heartily weary of the siege, abandoned his position on the 9th of May, and returned to Malden. General Harrison having repaired the fort, left it under command of General Clay, and returned to Ohio for reinforcements. Nothing further was attempted in this quarter until a naval force was ready for action on Lake Erie.

The principal object of the campaign of 1813, on the Canadian border, was the capture of Montreal. To effect this, it was essential to gain the command of Lake Ontario. Sackett's Harbour, on the east end of the lake, near its outlet, was selected as a naval depot; and Commodore Chauncey had been occupied since the month of October, 1812, in building and equipping a squadron sufficiently powerful to cope with that of the enemy, which consisted of six vessels, mounting in all eighty guns. In this he was successful; and having made several captures in the autumn of 1812, he was enabled in the spring of the next year, to acquire the complete ascendancy on the lake, confining every British ship to the harbour of Kingston.

General Dearborn had now under his command a respectable force of 6,000 men, composing the army of the north; and as Montreal was in a comparatively defenceless state, and could receive no reinforcements until June, it was his proper policy to have made an immediate descent upon that city. Unfortunately his exertions were directed to a much less important object. On the 23rd of April he embarked at Sackett's Harbour with 1,600 men, on an expedition against York, the capital of Upper Canada, situated at the head of Lake Ontario. On the 27th he arrived at his destination, and immediately commenced a disembarkation. Remaining on board the fleet, he intrusted the attack to General Pike, who succeeded in landing, though opposed by a superior force of the enemy, who, after a severe action,

were driven to their fortifications. The remainder of the forces having effected a landing, the whole army advanced to the assault, carried the first battery, and were approaching the main works, when a magazine of the British, prepared for the purpose, blew up with a tremendous explosion, destroying one hundred of the assailants. General Pike was mortally wounded by a stone which was thrown up by the explosion, and which struck him on the breast. He was immediately conveyed on board the commodore's ship, and soon expired. The troops paused a few moments at this unexpected catastrophe, but soon pressed forward and gained the possession of the town. The government hall was burned contrary to the orders of the American general. The British lost 100 killed, and 600 wounded and prisoners. The Americans, 320 killed and wounded. The object of the expedition being attained, the fleet proceeded to Niagara, landed the troops, and returned to Sackett's Harbour.

On embarking for York, General Dearborn had left Sackett's Harbour in rather a defenceless state. It was consequently attacked on the 29th of May, by the combined land and naval forces of the British, under Sir George Prevost and Sir James Yeo. General Brown, of the New York militia, had the chief command at the harbour. He detached Colonel Mills with the militia and Albany volunteers, to oppose the enemy's landing. On their approach, the militia fired, without orders, and too soon to produce any effect, and then fled. Colonel Mills was slain in attempting to rally them. General Brown succeeded in rallying about 100, and fell upon the enemy's rear. The British advanced towards the village, and encountering Colonel Backus, with the regular troops and a few militia, after a severe action were repulsed and driven to their boats. Lieutenant Chauncey, who had been ordered to set fire to the store-houses and barracks in case of defeat, anticipated that result, and thus caused the loss of the supplies which were essential to the success of the campaign. General Brown, in consequence of his services on this occasion, was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

While these events were passing at Sackett's Harbour, operations of some importance were taking place at the head of the lake. On the 27th of May, a descent was made upon Fort George, on the British side of the Niagara river, which, after a warm resistance, was taken. On the 28th, the garrison at Erie abandoned that fort to the Americans, and concen-

trated their forces with those of the other British garrisons on the Niagara peninsula, beyond Burlington heights, about forty miles west of Fort George. Generals Chandler and Winder were detached from Fort George with 1,000 men to attack them. They were met and repulsed, with the loss of both these officers captured; and Sir James Yeo, arriving with his fleet, relieved the British, and compelled the Americans to return to the main army, with the loss of most of their artillery and baggage. A detachment of 570 men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, being sent soon after to attack a body of the enemy at Beaver Dams, was surrounded and captured.

A second expedition under the command of Colonel Scott, was sent against the British post on Burlington heights, on the 28th of July. The landing took place on the 31st; but on reconnoitering the enemy's works, they were deemed too strong to be attacked with any prospect of success, and the troops were immediately re-embarked. On their return, they put into York, burned the barracks and public stores, and brought off one piece of ordnance and a quantity of flour.

During the time occupied by these operations, the British had prepared a flotilla, superior to that of the Americans, which enabled them to turn the advantage on Lake Ontario in their own favour. On the 7th of October, Sir James Yeo appeared with his fleet before Fort George, where Commodore Chauncey lay at anchor with his squadron. He immediately went out, and in a gale, which happened on the night of the 8th, lost two of his schooners, with the greater part of their crews. On the 10th, an action took place, in which two of the American schooners were taken. The fleets then separated, neither party being willing to come to a decisive contest.

Thus terminated the operations of the American forces on Lake Ontario, under the direction of General Dearborn. Nothing had been effected towards the successful termination of the campaign; heavy losses had been sustained, and the only favourable opportunity for a descent on Montreal had been suffered to escape. The general had been most of the time an invalid, and had never appeared to lead his troops on any expedition. He was now superseded, and General Wilkinson called from the south to take his place.

General Wilkinson arrived at Sackett's Harbour on the 1st of August; the war department, under the direction of General

Armstrong, was removed to that place, and extensive preparations were commenced for a descent on Montreal. The army consisted of 8,000 men, but a period of three months elapsed before they were ready to descend the St. Lawrence on the expedition. This enabled the enemy to fortify every important point on the river; and when, on the 5th of November, the flotilla set sail, their progress was disputed so obstinately, that it was found necessary to land a body of troops under the command of General Brown, who proceeded in advance of the boats, to dislodge the enemy from his posts on the river. The rear division, under General Boyd, encountered a party of equal force at Chrystler's Fields, near Williamsburg, on the 10th of November. A spirited action ensued, in which the Americans, with considerable loss, succeeded in driving the British from their position, and enabling the flotilla to pass unmolested.

On the 11th, General Wilkinson with the main body arrived at St. Regis, where General Hampton, with an additional force, had been ordered to meet him for the purpose of co-operating in the proposed descent on Montreal. Instead of obeying the order, Hampton sent a communication to his commander, informing him, that in consequence of the sickly state of his troops, the want of provisions, &c. he had thought proper to fall back on his main depot at Plattsburg, for the purpose of keeping open a communication with the St. Lawrence, and thus contributing to the success of the main object. In consequence of this strange proceeding of General Hampton, the expedition was abandoned, and General Wilkinson's army retired to French Mills, and went into winter quarters.

The disappointment and chagrin of the nation at the failure of this attempt was proportioned to the extensive preparations, and the sanguine hopes with which it had been undertaken. The whole fault was respectively charged upon the war department, the commanding general and his recusant subaltern; but it was easy to perceive, that if either had possessed a tolerable share of decision and energy, the expedition would have been attended with a very different result.

Before restoring his department to its only proper position, the capital, the secretary of war, General Armstrong, had issued an order to General M'Clure, commanding at Fort George, to destroy the British town of Newark, situated in its vicinity. This order was punctually complied with on the 10th of December, and about 500 unoffending and innocent

people were thus rendered houseless, and compelled, in the midst of a Canadian winter, to seek shelter from the charity of their friends.

This act, and the burning of York, were most severely retaliated by the British, who, when General M'Clure subsequently retreated, and Fort Niagara was lost, passed over to the American side of the river, burnt Niagara and Lewistown, and laid waste all the other flourishing villages and settlements on the Niagara between the lakes. Indeed, these unnecessary acts of aggression on the Canada borders, were afterwards alleged in justification of every similar proceeding on the part of the enemy.

Although the British were so deeply sensible of the injustice and cruelty of this mode of warfare when practised upon their own people, they had been beforehand with the Americans in its commencement. Having declared a blockade of the ports and harbours in the Chesapeake and Delaware bays, in December, 1812, they extended it on the following May to New York, and all the southern ports. A squadron of four ships of the line and six frigates, under Admiral Cockburn, arrived in the Chesapeake early in March, and three seventy-fours, and several smaller vessels, under Commodore Beresford, arrived in the Delaware about the same time. On the 16th of March, a demand was made on the inhabitants of Lewistown, on the Delaware, for supplies, which was promptly refused. The demand being again made and again refused, the British commenced a bombardment of the town on the 6th of April. They subsequently attempted to land at two different places on the river, but being met at the water's edge and driven back, they abandoned the river, after burning some merchant vessels, and sailed for Bermuda.

Admiral Cockburn pursued a similar system of warfare on the Chesapeake. The plantations, farms, and gentlemen's seats on the shore were plundered. The villages of Frenchtown, Havre de Grace, Fredericktown, and Georgetown were plundered and burnt; and Norfolk and the villages in its immediate neighbourhood were only saved from destruction by the spirited resistance of the inhabitants, assisted by some marines and sailors from the *Constellation* frigate, and a few gun-boats in the harbour, who manned a battery on Craney island, sunk several of the British barges, and drove the remainder back to their ships.

The village of Hampton, eighteen miles from Norfolk, was

defended by about 450 militia, against a British flotilla, with bombs and rockets, commanded by Admiral Cockburn; but Sir Sidney Beckwith coming to the assistance of the Admiral with 2,000 men, succeeded in capturing the place, which was forthwith abandoned to the soldiery, who perpetrated outrages on the inhabitants, which would have disgraced the darkest ages of barbarism.

After this great victory and triumph, Admiral Cockburn, sailed with his squadron up the Potomac, to within 70 miles of Washington; but finding the fortifications on the river in a good state of defence, he retired. He next proceeded up the bay, and threatened Annapolis and Baltimore; but not deeming it prudent to attack those places, he proceeded to the south, pursuing his system of plunder and devastation on the coast of the Carolinas and Georgia.

These outrages, which were intended to render the war unpopular with the Americans, had a directly contrary effect, infusing new spirit and energy into their subsequent operations, and giving a tone to the public feeling, which was the only requisite hitherto wanting towards the successful conduct of the war.

The blockade of the northern ports fell into better hands. Commodore Hardy, who commanded the squadron, which blockaded New London, and held the frigates *United States* and *Macedonian* in a state of inaction there during the latter period of the war, conducted his operations in a spirit of comparative forbearance and humanity. His chivalry, however, was not so generous as to permit his acceptance of the challenge from the commanders of those frigates, offering to meet the *Endymion* and *Statira*, ships of the blockading squadron, of equal force. The uniform result of previous meetings of this kind was too ominous of disgrace to the British arms.

The success of the Americans in their naval encounters with the enemy was not less remarkable than it had been during the preceding year. On the 24th of February, Captain Lawrence, in the sloop of war *Hornet*, fell in with the brig of war *Peacock*, and after a close action of fifteen minutes, compelled her to strike her colours and hoist a signal of distress. The firing of the *Hornet* instantly ceased, and the boats were hoisted out for the purpose of saving the British crew, as the vessel was in a sinking state. In spite of the most active exertions on the part of their generous enemies, thirteen of the British went down with the ship, and four of

the *Hornet's* crew, who were rendering assistance, suffered the same fate.

On his return to the United States, Captain Lawrence was promoted to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then lying in Boston harbour. Soon after taking command of his ship, Lawrence received a challenge from Captain Broke, of the British frigate *Shannon*, to meet him in single combat, ship to ship, engaging that the *Tenedos*, which was then blockading Boston, in company with the *Shannon*, should be out of the way during the action. The challenge was promptly accepted. The ships met; the *Chesapeake* was taken, and the gallant Lawrence, with his lieutenant, Ludlow, fell in the action. These frigates were nearly equal in weight of metal, the *Shannon* mounting fifty-two guns and the *Chesapeake* forty-eight; but the latter undoubtedly laboured under great disadvantages in the undisciplined and half intoxicated state of the crew, just out of port. Her capture, however, was a source of unbounded exultation to the British.

In May, 1813, Captain Allen, in the brig *Argus*, having conveyed Mr. Crawford, the American ambassador, to France, began a cruise in the British channel, during which he captured and destroyed British vessels and cargoes to the amount of two millions of dollars. He was then assailed by the *Pelican* sloop of war, of twenty guns, and sustained a severe action of forty-three minutes, when the British frigate *Sea Horse* heaving in sight, the *Argus* struck. Captain Allen was mortally wounded during the engagement.

In September, the United States brig *Enterprise* encountered the British brig *Boxer* off the coast of Maine, and after an action of forty-five minutes compelled her to surrender. Both the commanders fell in the action, and were buried together, with military honours, in Portland. The *Boxer* was superior to her antagonist in tonnage, men and guns. She lost twenty-five killed, and fourteen wounded; while the *Enterprise* lost four killed, and eleven wounded.

The British had employed the Indians as allies from the commencement of the war, and had encouraged rather than repressed their propensity to use their prisoners in the most barbarous manner. It was not till the summer of this year that the Six Nations declared war against England, and united their arms with those of the United States. In accepting their aid, it was made a strict condition, that they should treat their captives according to the usage of civilised nations,

and when a party of them, assisted by the militia, routed the enemy near Fort George, the prisoners being committed to their charge, were treated with the greatest humanity, thus completely exploding the apology set up by the British officers, that they could not control their allies.

The events on the north-western frontier were now assuming an interesting character. Both the British and Americans were strenuously engaged in preparing a naval force to be employed on Lake Erie; and at the same time an attempt was made on Forts Stephenson and Meigs, by Colonel Proctor, with a large force of British and Indians. Towards the end of July, the enemy appeared in the neighbourhood of Fort Meigs, and endeavoured by a variety of stratagems to withdraw the Americans from their works into the open field. Not succeeding in this, on the 1st of August Proctor laid siege to Fort Stephenson on the Sandusky river, with a force of 500 regulars and 800 Indians. The garrison consisted of only 160 men, with a single piece of cannon; but they were commanded by Major Croghan, a young officer, distinguished by the gallantry suited to his age, and the firmness and judgment of a veteran. He had been directed to abandon the fort on the approach of a superior force, but confiding in his own resources and the courage of his men, he dared to assume the responsibility of defending it.

Having poured into the fort a galling cannonade of shot and shells for two days, the British advanced at two different points to assault the works. One of the advancing parties, consisting of three hundred and fifty men, commanded by Colonel Short, was received with a heavy fire, and eighty of them, having leaped over the pickets into the ditch, were all killed or captured, Short himself being among the slain. The remainder were repulsed. The other party marched up a ravine towards the fort, and were received with a discharge of slugs and balls from the six-pounder, which had been masked and reserved for their reception, and now mowed them down with prodigious slaughter. This spirited resistance so completely dismayed the enemy, that Proctor abandoned his dead and wounded, and fled for safety. The Indians were so disappointed at missing the plunder and scalps of the garrison, that they forthwith began to abandon their allies in great numbers.

Major Croghan, for his brilliant services in this affair, received the appointment of lieutenant-colonel by brevet in

the regular army; and the ladies of Chillicothe presented him with a splendid sword. The repulse which he had given the British and Indians saved Fort Meigs from an assault, and completely relieved the frontier to the south of the strait at Detroit, from its most troublesome enemy.

General Harrison, who had the chief command on the north-western frontier, was now occupied in preparing his troops for a descent upon the enemy's territory, as soon as the squadron in preparation on Lake Erie should be ready to afford him the facilities of transportation. Early in September Commodore Perry, who had in a few months succeeded in constructing from the trees of the neighbouring forests, a respectable squadron, sailed from Erie in pursuit of the enemy, who had hitherto commanded the lake. His fleet consisted of nine small vessels mounting in all fifty-six guns. That of the British, under Commodore Barclay, consisted of six larger vessels mounting sixty-nine guns. His complement of men was also greater than that of Perry.

On the 10th of September the fleets met off Put-in-bay. At the commencement of the action the *Lawrence*, the flag-ship, was attacked by the *Detroit* and *Queen Charlotte*, and as the wind was too light to allow the remainder of the squadron to come up to the commodore's support, he had to sustain their fire for two hours, when the *Lawrence* being reduced to a sinking condition, he committed her to the charge of Lieutenant Yarnall, and descending into a boat, passed through a shower of cannon balls and bullets, and transferred his flag to the *Niagara*. The wind now freshening, the remainder of the American vessels were brought into action, and soon compelled the surrender of the whole British fleet.

This victory being the first obtained over a squadron, and bringing with it the most important advantages, occasioned greater rejoicing among the Americans than any which had preceded it. The gallant Perry was loaded with honours and distinctions, and his victory was proudly recorded in the annals and celebrated in the songs of his countrymen.

On receiving intelligence of Perry's success, General Harrison, who had been reinforced by a strong body of Kentucky militia under governor Shelby, embarked on the lake, and soon arrived at Malden. This post had been abandoned by the British, who had ascended the river Thames as far as the Moravian villages. Here they were overtaken by General

Harrison, on the 5th of October, who succeeded in bringing them to action, and gained a complete victory. Colonel Proctor saved himself by flight, leaving his camp equipage and papers. Six hundred of the British were made prisoners. The Indians are said to have borne the brunt of the battle, and fallen in great numbers. Their great chief, Tecumseh, was among the slain in the battle of the Thames, having been shot by Colonel Johnson. This victory restored to the Americans all the posts which had been surrendered by General Hull.

The British had been no less successful in exciting the hostility of the Indians at the southern extremity of the Union than at the north; and a visit of Tecumseh at the commencement of the war had stirred up among them a spirit of blind fanaticism which manifested itself by a series of hostilities, carried on by the Creeks and Seminoles against the frontier inhabitants of Georgia. This was repressed, however, for the time, by an incursion of 2,500 Tennessee volunteers, led by General Jackson, in the fall of 1812. Their hostility now burst forth with fresh violence.

At Fort Mimms, in the Tensaw settlement, a party of three hundred inhabitants who had fled thither for safety, were surprised on the 30th of August by six hundred Indians, who broke into the fort, drove the people into the houses which it inclosed, and set them on fire. Only seventeen escaped the general massacre.

An army of 3,500 militia, principally from Tennessee, was speedily assembled and placed under the command of General Jackson, for the purpose of chastising the authors of this unprovoked outrage. On the 2nd of November a detachment of this force under General Coffee attacked the Creeks at Taluschatthes, destroyed 200 of their warriors, burnt their town, and captured 86 prisoners.

On the 8th, General Jackson attacked a large body of the Creeks, who were assembled at Taladega, and defeated them; the Indians leaving 290 of their warriors on the field, and retreating to the mountains.

On the 18th of November, General White was equally successful at the Hillibee village, where, after a bloody encounter, he defeated the Creeks, 60 of their warriors being killed, and 256 made prisoners, without the loss of a single man on the side of the Americans. General Floyd inflicted a similar defeat on the Indians at Autossee on the 29th of November.

On the 22nd of January, 1814, General Jackson with about 1,400 men was attacked by a large body of the Creeks near the bend of the Tallapoosa. The Indians were repulsed with considerable loss, and the general having effected his object, a diversion in favour of General Floyd, retired to Fort Strother. A furious night attack, made upon General Floyd's detachment on the 27th, was successfully resisted; and the Indians were compelled, after a severe loss, to fly for shelter into the Caulibee swamp.

The last signal stroke of vengeance was inflicted on the Creeks at the Horse Shoe Bend, called by the Indians Tohopeka, on the Tallapoosa, March 27th, 1814. Here by the judicious arrangements of General Jackson, they were completely surrounded, and, after a most sanguinary battle, the greater part of them were destroyed. Six hundred warriors fell in the battle, and but 300 escaped.

This may be considered the closing scene of the Creek war, since the subsequent march of General Jackson to the Hickory Ground only terminated in the formal submission of the chiefs.

'The interference of Great Britain,' says an American historian, 'in the relations that subsisted between the United States and the Creek Indians, was, as will be presently seen, finally retaliated upon her, with four-fold vengeance. The war with those deluded savages was the school in which Generals Jackson, Coffee, and Carroll, became adepts in the tactics, that made a Tennessee rifleman superior to a "Wellington invincible," and qualified an army of citizen soldiers to defeat an army of veterans, of superior numbers. The ways of Providence are indeed inscrutable to man. When the Creek war broke out, the United States were completely begirt with enemies; and short-sighted man would have considered the addition of an infuriated and warlike race, to the list of their foes, as an event much to be deplored. But this circumstance, more than any other, favoured the defence of New Orleans. The officers and soldiers, who defeated the legions of Pakenham, Gibbs, Keane, and Lambert, were formed in the contest with the unfortunate victims to British influence.'

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CAMPAIGN OF 1814.

EARLY in the spring of 1813 an offer was made by the Emperor of Russia of his mediation as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The president having accepted this offer, commissioned John Quincy Adams, then minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, Albert Gallatin, and James A. Bayard, with the requisite powers to conclude a treaty of peace, with persons clothed with similar powers, on the part of Great Britain.

During the session of congress which commenced in December 1813, a communication was received from the British government, declining to treat under the mediation of Russia, and proposing a direct negotiation in London or Gottenburg. This proposition was accepted, and the latter place appointed for the meeting, which was afterwards transferred to Ghent; and Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell were added to the commissioners who had already gone to Europe.

For the purpose of increasing the force of the regular army, several acts of congress were passed offering large bounties to recruits, and providing liberally for the pay, rations, and clothing of the troops. A loan of twenty-five millions of dollars, and the issue of treasury notes for five millions, were also authorized. Provision was also made for the increase and better organisation of the navy, and for the defence of the seaboard. An embargo, which had been laid to prevent the trade under British licences, was repealed in April, 1814.

The fall of Napoleon having left Great Britain at peace with all nations except the United States, enabled that power to direct the whole of her disposable force against the Americans. This circumstance, increasing the perils of the campaign, rendered it necessary to make greater exertions and sacrifices for the defence of the country.

The spring passed away without any important operations on either side. The army which had wintered at French Mills, left that station in the early part of the spring, one

division under General Wilkinson proceeding to Plattsburg, and the remainder under General Brown returning to Sackett's Harbour. In March, General Wilkinson entered Canada, and made an attack on a party of the British stationed in a large stone building called La Cole Mill. He was defeated with a heavy loss; and being soon afterwards superseded, his command was given to General Izard.

On the 5th of May, the British made a descent on Oswego, and succeeded in capturing and destroying the fort and military stores at that place; after which they returned to Kingston.

Early in July, General Brown crossed the Niagara river, and invested Fort Erie, which was surrendered without opposition, and the prisoners, 137 in number, were sent to Buffalo. The army then advanced to Chippewa, where a large body of the British were posted; and on the 5th of July, a severe engagement took place, in which the British lost upwards of 300 killed and wounded, 200 being left dead on the field. The American loss was 60 killed and 268 wounded and missing. The British then retired to Fort George, and General Brown took post at Queenstown, to await reinforcements from Sackett's Harbour.

The expected reinforcements, however, being blockaded by a British fleet off the harbour, did not arrive. Detachments from the army were occupied with unimportant skirmishes until July 25th, when the battle of Bridgewater, near the cataract of Niagara, took place.

The British advanced to the attack under General Drummond. The first brigade, under General Scott, with Towson's artillery and a body of cavalry, composed the advance of the Americans, and engaging the enemy at six o'clock in the evening, sustained the attack without support for an hour. General Ripley with fresh troops then arriving, relieved General Scott, and his exhausted brigade formed a reserve in the rear. The British artillery had taken post on an eminence at the head of Lundy's Lane, and poured a most deadly fire on the Americans. It became necessary to dislodge them or retreat. 'Will you advance and capture that battery?' said the commanding general to Colonel Miller. 'I will try, sir,' was the modest reply of the colonel, which afterwards became the motto of his regiment. He advanced coolly and steadily to his object amidst a most tremendous fire of artillery, and at the point of the bayonet carried the

artillery and the height. The guns were turned upon the enemy. Several attempts were made to regain them without success. The principal force of both parties were directed to this point, and a most sanguinary contest took place, which resulted in the defeat of the British. The loss on each side was about 800. Generals Brown and Scott being both severely wounded in the battle, the command devolved upon General Ripley, who took post at Fort Erie. Here he was attacked by General Drummond, at the head of 5,000 troops, who formally invested the place on the 4th of August. Having advanced their lines to within 400 yards of the fort, the enemy commenced a brisk cannonade on the 13th, which continued the whole of that and the next day. The fire was steadily returned by the Americans. On the night of the 14th, an assault was made by the British, which resulted in their repulse, with the loss of 900 men; the Americans losing but 84.

On the 2nd of September, General Brown had so far recovered from his wounds as to be able to resume the command. The British main body, under General Drummond, were encamped two miles from Fort Erie, while his works were advanced to within 400 yards of the American lines. One of the brigades with a detachment of artillery, was stationed at this advance. On the 17th, General Porter and General Miller, with large detachments, made a sortie with a view to cut off the British advanced posts from the main body. Within thirty minutes the whole line of the enemy's entrenchments were in possession of the Americans. The works were destroyed, and strong reinforcements of the enemy coming up, the Americans retired within their lines. The American loss was 79 killed, and 432 wounded and missing. The British lost 500 killed and wounded, and 385 captured. The result of this gallant sortie completely discouraged the enemy, who on the night of the 21st, raised the siege which had continued forty-nine days, and retired to his entrenchments behind the Chippewa.

On the 9th of October General Izard arrived with reinforcements from Plattsburg, and took the command, General Brown retiring to Sackett's Harbour. General Izard deeming it inexpedient to attempt any further offensive operations in this quarter, demolished the works at Fort Erie, and removed the troops to Buffalo.

The next attempt of the British was a descent upon Plattsburg. This was the principal military and naval depot for

the army of the north and the flotilla on Lake Champlain. Its defence was intrusted to General Macomb, with 1,500 regulars, and the neighbouring militia, to be called in as occasion might require. On the 1st of September, General Prevost, with 14,000 men, advanced to Champlain, within fifteen miles of the American lines. Having called in the militia, who flocked to his standard from the neighbouring country in great numbers, General Macomb made every exertion to impede the approach, and prepare for the attack of the enemy. The bridges on his line of march were broken up, and every possible impediment thrown in the way of his passage, and the fortifications at Plattsburg were strengthened by additional breastworks and batteries.

On the 6th of September the British advance was met at Batemantown, six miles from Plattsburg, by a corps of 700 militia, under General Mooers. After some slight skirmishing, the militia discovered the New York state dragoons in red uniform, reconnoitering the heights on their rear, and mistaking them for British troops in the act of surrounding their party, they broke and fled in every direction. On the same day the British, commanded by Sir George Prevost in person, entered Plattsburg. The Americans retired to the south side of the Saranac river, tore up the bridges and made breastworks of them, and guarded the ford-ways; while the British strengthened their works, and prepared for the attack.

While these operations were going forward on land, the American squadron on Lake Champlain lay at anchor in a bay two miles distant, awaiting the arrival of the British fleet, which was to assist in the simultaneous attack about to take place on land and water. On the morning of the 11th, the enemy's ships appeared, bearing down upon the Americans under easy sail, and the action immediately commenced. It was a hard fought battle, and it terminated in a manner highly honourable to the courage and resolution of Commodore M'Donough and his brave associates. The fleets were engaged two hours and twenty minutes. Nearly all the British ships were sunk or taken; and when the action closed, there was not a mast standing in either squadron to which a sail could be attached. When the flag-ship of the British, having lost its commander, Commodore Downie, struck her colours, the shores resounded with the acclamations of the American troops and citizens. The British, seeing their fleet completely conquered, were dispirited and dismayed.

At the moment when the naval action had commenced, the British from their works on shore had opened a heavy fire of shot, shells and rockets upon the American lines. Under cover of this fire, three desperate efforts were made to cross the Saranac, for the purpose of carrying the American lines by assault, all which were met and successfully resisted. One ford, guarded by militia, was passed, and a body of the British being drawn into the woods, were so severely handled that they were compelled to recross the river with considerable loss. At six o'clock in the evening, the British batteries were silenced; and during the night the whole army decamped with precipitation, leaving their sick and wounded, and most of their camp equipage, entrenching tools and provisions, behind them. This retreat was so sudden and unexpected, that it was not discovered by the American general till the British were eight miles from the late scene of action. Indeed he had little reason to suppose that a disciplined and well appointed army, 'Wellington's veterans,' numbering some fourteen thousand, would have fled so incontinently from 1,500 American regulars, and 3,000 militia. The hard fighting on the lake must have had what it is the fashion to call a 'moral effect.' In the phrase of Monsieur de Bourrienne, it '*demoralized*' them. Their commander was dismissed and disgraced by his government.

This battle terminated the active warfare on the Canada border, the general result of which conveys to Americans the important lesson that the genius of their institutions, and the character of the people, are as uncongenial to all schemes of foreign conquest as they are favourable to the resolute and unflinching defence of their own soil. The militia who displayed so much bravery near their own fire-sides, could never be brought to enter heartily into the scheme of invading the British territory. All efforts in that quarter resulted in the same 'lame and impotent conclusion.' Even the splendid achievements at Chippewa, Bridgewater, and Fort Erie, produced nothing in the way of conquest; while the defence of Fort Sandusky and Plattsburg brought the solid advantages of immunity from foreign oppression and savage warfare.

The withdrawal of the British arms from the continent of Europe, and their embarkation for this country rendered it a matter of necessity to fortify every important point on the seaboard, as it could not be known where the anticipated invasion was to take place. The people of the great

commercial cities, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, employed themselves with great activity in strengthening their respective fortifications, and the militia were mustered, and large bodies of them drafted for camp duty. The military district in the neighbourhood of Washington, was assigned to General Winder, and 1,000 regular troops were placed at his disposal, with authority to call out 15,000 militia, if their services should be required.

On the 10th of August, a British fleet of 60 sail, under Admiral Sir A. Cochrane, with a land force of 6,000, under General Ross, entered the Chesapeake bay, and proceeded to the mouth of the Potomac, when a squadron under Commodore Gordon entered that river, and advanced towards Alexandria. The principal part of the fleet, with the land forces, continued their course to the mouth of the Patuxent, and entered that river on the 18th. Commodore Barney, who commanded the American flotilla of gun-boats on that river, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, blew them up, and proceeded to join General Winder.

The British, on their advance up the Patuxent, learning the defenceless state of Washington, determined on an expedition to that city. Five thousand men, under General Ross, having landed at Benedict, advanced towards the capital; the Americans retiring before him. The whole force for the defence of the city, including militia, did not exceed 7,200. They were concentrated on and near the heights of Bladensburg. On the 24th the British advanced, and commenced an attack, driving in the advanced parties until they encountered the battery of Commodore Barney, manned with seamen and marines, who gave them the only serious repulse which they met, and inflicted the heaviest loss which they suffered in the battle. Being deserted by the militia, this gallant little band were at length surrounded, and their commander, being wounded, was captured, and paroled for his courage by General Ross. The city was then abandoned by the president and heads of departments; the whole American force retreated to Georgetown.

At eight o'clock in the evening, General Ross entered the city at the head of 800 men. Having arrived on Capitol hill, he offered terms of capitulation, which were, that the city might be ransomed by paying a sum of money nearly equal to the value of public and private property which it contained; and that on receiving it the British troops should retire unmo-

lest. As there was no civil or military authority on the spot, competent to enter into such an arrangement as this, he proceeded to burn the Capitol, the president's house, the offices of the several departments, and a considerable number of private dwellings. The navy yard with its contents, one frigate on the stocks, and several smaller vessels were also destroyed. The libraries and public archives, together with all the works of art contained in the public buildings were included in the general conflagration.

No parallel for this act of Vandalism can be found in the annals of modern warfare. It was felt with the deepest resentment by the American people, and denounced in the severest terms even in the British parliament. The disgrace of having their capital taken by an enemy, was suffered by the Americans in common with every other civilised nation; but the lasting stigma of burning national archives and senate chambers remains with the British alone.

Having accomplished their object, the enemy on the 25th made a precipitate retreat, and on the 30th embarked at Benedict.

The squadron, under Commodore Gordon, which had advanced up the river Potomac, arrived at Alexandria on the 29th; and the commander having granted terms of capitulation to the citizens, by which the shipping, naval stores and merchandise were delivered up, received the surrender of the place. A scene of indiscriminate plunder then ensued. The vessels in the harbour were taken, and loaded with the large stores of flour, tobacco, cotton, wines and sugars, of which Alexandria was the depot, and the whole was carried off with the squadron, on their return down the river. The public and private buildings of the town were mercifully spared.

The success of General Ross at Washington induced him to undertake the capture of Baltimore. He boasted that he would make that city his winter quarters, and with the force which he commanded he could march where he pleased in Maryland.

The Americans were not unprepared for an attack in this quarter. A force of militia from Maryland and the neighbouring states, together with the regular troops who had recently been engaged at Washington, amounting in all to 15,000 men, had been assembled for the defence of the city. The command of these troops was given to General Smith, of the Maryland militia, assisted by General Winder.

On the 11th of September, a British squadron of fifty sail, with 6,000 men, entered the mouth of the Patapsco, and on the morning of the 12th commenced landing at North Point, fourteen miles below the city. General Stricker was detached with 3,500 militia to oppose their advance. General Ross, having preceded the main body of his army with a small reconnoitering party, was shot through the breast by a rifleman, fell into the arms of his aide-de-camp, and died in a few minutes. The command devolved on Colonel Brooke, who led on the attack, which was commenced by a discharge of rockets from the British, and was succeeded by grape, canister and small arms on both sides. After maintaining his position for an hour and a half against a great superiority of numbers, General Stricker was at length obliged to retire to Worthington Mills, half a mile in advance of the main body.

On the night of the 12th, the British bivouacked in advance of the battle ground, and on the 13th commenced their march towards the city. When within two miles of the American lines they halted to await the result of the attack on Fort M'Henry. This fortress defends the narrow passage from the Patapsco into Baltimore harbour, two miles below the city, and its command had been intrusted to Major Armistead, with 1,000 men. Fort Covington, on the right of Fort M'Henry, was commanded by Lieutenant Newcomb. On the 12th, a British squadron of sixteen ships drew up in line of battle within two miles and a half of the forts, and at sunrise on the 13th, commenced an attack on them with bombs and rockets. Twelve hundred men were detached to storm the works on the succeeding night, and the battle raged with great fury till the morning of the 14th, when the assailants being completely foiled, were compelled to retire, and the squadron sailed down the river. Their example was speedily followed by the army, who had so sanguinely anticipated the capture and plunder of Baltimore. The whole fleet soon after left Chesapeake Bay for the south.

While the central parts of the American seaboard were suffering these attacks from the British, the towns on the coast of New England were not spared. On the 7th of April a detachment from the blockading squadron in Long Island Sound ascended the Connecticut river to Pettipaug Point, and burned twenty-two vessels which had been moored there as a place of safety. The village was set on fire in several places, but the flames were extinguished by the inhabitants.

On the 9th of August, another detachment from the same squadron appeared off Stonington Point, and commenced a bombardment of the village. The militia of the neighbourhood, having assembled in considerable numbers with artillery, made so gallant a defence, that the British were compelled on the 11th to give up the contest and retire.

The extensive seaboard of the district of Maine, by its defenceless state and its vicinity to the British provinces, offered an easy conquest to the enemy. On the 11th of July a squadron under Commodore Hardy, with 1,200 troops, took possession of Eastport, on Moose Island, erected fortifications, and required the people to take the oath of allegiance to his Britannic majesty, or quit the island. Having accomplished this object, the commodore returned to his station off New London.

On the 1st of September, an expedition under Sir John Sherbrooke, governor of Nova Scotia, and Admiral Griffith, with forty sail and several thousand troops, entered the Penobscot river and took possession of Castine. They next sent a detachment of 600 men to Belfast, and having received the surrender of that place, proceeded thirty-five miles up the river to Hampden, to which place the American frigate Adams had retired on their approach. The militia had assembled in considerable numbers, but fled on the approach of the enemy. Captain Morris was therefore compelled to blow up this ship, destroy his stores, and retire with his crew to Portsmouth. The British commanders having taken possession of the principal towns on the coast, published their proclamation at Castine, declaring the conquest of all the country east of the Penobscot to Passamaquoddy Bay, and requiring the submission of the people to the British government. The territory thus occupied comprehends forty-two flourishing towns—nearly one-half of the district of Maine.

The ravages of the British extended to the coast of Massachusetts. The people of Cape Cod were reduced to great distress, being prohibited from fishing on the banks; the inhabitants of Nantucket were compelled to promise neutrality during the remainder of the war; and the other islands on the seaboard being entirely unprotected, were under the necessity of submitting to such terms as the British naval commanders chose to dictate.

The opposition to the measures of government in New England became more decided than ever at this period of the

war. In Massachusetts it was even proposed to withhold the revenue of the state from the national treasury, and apply it to the purpose of local defence. A convention of delegates was assembled at Hartford for the purpose of taking into consideration the measures which might be deemed necessary for self-defence, and the redress of their alleged grievances. To compose this assembly, members were appointed by the legislatures of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; and two from New Hampshire, and one from Vermont, received their appointment from county meetings. The session commenced December 15th, 1814, and lasted three weeks, their deliberations being conducted with closed doors. On adjourning, the convention put forth an address, charging the general government with pursuing a system of measures unfriendly to the interests of New England, and recommending amendments to the federal constitution. A committee was despatched to Washington to confer with the national government, on the subject of applying the revenue of New England to its defence; but the arrival of the news of peace arrested all further proceedings.

The Spanish authorities at Pensacola, who had encouraged the Indians in their hostilities since the commencement of the war, now afforded the same encouragement to the British. On the 25th of August three British ships of war arrived there, and landed military stores and provisions, and 300 troops, which were conducted to the Spanish fort. Colonel Nicholls, the commander, then published an address to the native inhabitants of Louisiana, calling on them to unite with the British in expelling the Americans from the south. This address, however, had very little effect. The enemy's army at Pensacola was supplied with provisions from New Orleans by a direct commerce. General Jackson, who had the command of the military district including Tennessee, Louisiana, and the Mississippi territory, immediately arrested the intercourse between Pensacola and New Orleans, and prohibited all commerce between the two places.

On the island of the Barrataria near the mouth of the Mississippi, a horde of pirates had established themselves, and were committing depredations on the commerce of all nations. As their force was considerable, the British commander at Pensacola endeavoured to engage them in the service of the British, but his offers were declined. The Americans took a more summary course with the pirates. Commodore Patter-

son, commandant of the American squadron at New Orleans, attacked them with gun-boats, and other small craft on the 16th of September, and compelling them to seek safety in flight, captured their whole fleet of cruisers and prizes, and conducted them safely to New Orleans.

On the 15th of September, the British sent an expedition from Pensacola against Fort Boyer on Mobile Point at the entrance of the bay; which was defeated with the loss of a ship of war, and a considerable number of killed and wounded. The whole armament then returned to Pensacola.

The establishment of the British at this post was so injurious to the United States, that General Jackson determined on his own responsibility to dislodge them. Accordingly, on the 6th of November, he appeared before Pensacola with three regiments of regular infantry and a large body of militia, and sent a flag to the governor, which was fired upon and compelled to return. General Jackson then attacked the fort and carried it after a smart action, and compelled the British to retreat to their shipping; their escape being effected only by the blowing up of Barancas, a valuable fortress belonging to the Spaniards.

The British had for some time been preparing for an expedition against New Orleans. The fleet lately employed in the Chesapeake, and the whole British force which could be spared from the Atlantic coast, had been assembled at Jamaica and at Bermuda, to prepare for this grand attempt. Large reinforcements had been ordered from England, under General Pakenham, furnished not only with the means of war, but with printing presses, and custom-house and civil officers, and everything incident to a permanent establishment. Indeed, so certain were the enemy of accomplishing their object, that there were merchants on board the fleet who went out for the purpose of buying the cotton which was to compose a part of the coveted plunder.

On the 20th of November, this formidable armament, consisting of sixty vessels with 8,000 troops, sailed from the West Indies, and on the 18th of November arrived at the entrance of Lake Borgne. On the 2nd of December, General Jackson with the regular troops from the Mobile and Mississippi territory, arrived at New Orleans, and immediately commenced a system of efficient measures for its defence. The militia of Louisiana and Mississippi were ordered out *en masse*, and large detachments from Tennessee and Kentucky.

From Governor Claiborne, of Louisiana, General Jackson had previously learnt that the city corps had for the most part refused to turn out on the requisition of General Flournoy, that the legislature of the state, then in session, had encouraged them in their disobedience, and that among the citizens there were many disaffected to the government of the United States, and friendly to the British.

Finding on his arrival in the city that this information was correct, and that the most imminent danger was threatened by the presence and influence of the disaffected, General Jackson after consulting with the governor and other leading citizens, on the 16th of December issued an order declaring the city and environs of New Orleans to be under strict martial law. The rigid police which this measure enabled him to exert, soon freed the city from the spies and traitors with which it had abounded; and the citizens addressed themselves earnestly to the business of preparing for the vigorous defence of the city. The fortifications were strengthened, and every man who could bear arms was required to take a part in the military operations on which the safety of all depended.

Fort St. Philip, which guarded the passage of the river at Detour la Plaquemine, was strengthened and placed under the command of Major Overton. An extensive line of works was erected four miles below the city, on the east bank of the Mississippi, the right resting on the river, and the left reaching to an impenetrable cypress swamp. A ditch which had been dug for agricultural objects, between the river and the swamp, was now made use of for an important military purpose. On its northern bank entrenchments were thrown up, and large quantities of cotton bales were so arranged as to protect the troops effectually from the enemy's fire. These works were well mounted with artillery. Opposite this position, on the west bank of the river, General Morgan with a body of militia was stationed, and near him Commodore Patterson with the crews and guns of part of his squadron; enfilading the approach of the enemy against the principal works. A detachment was stationed above the town to guard the pass of the Bayou St. John. These dispositions having been made for the defence of the city, the approach of the enemy was firmly awaited.

To clear the way for the transportation of their troops by boats, the British first sent forward forty launches filled with

men, who attacked, and after a desperate resistance, captured and destroyed, the American flotilla stationed on lakes Borgne and Pontchartrain, consisting of five gun-boats and a small sloop and schooner. Having thus obtained possession of the lakes, on the 22nd of December a detachment was sent from their rendezvous, at Ship Island, to the bayou Bienvenue, and having effected a landing unobserved, were marching towards the city. General Jackson having been apprised of their approach, marched out and attacked them on the night of the 23rd. In this action the British lost 500 in killed, wounded and missing. They retreated, and entrenched themselves at Bienvenue, four miles from the American camp. The armed schooners, *Caroline* and *Louisiana*, dropped down the river from the city, and opened a fire on the British lines. On the 27th, the *Caroline* got aground, and was set on fire and destroyed by the hot shot of the enemy. The *Louisiana* succeeded in getting out of the reach of their batteries.

On the 28th, the British advanced within half a mile of the American lines, and opened a fire of shells and rockets, but were repulsed by the artillery. On the night of the 31st, they came within six hundred yards of the works, erected three batteries, and opened a heavy fire. Under cover of these batteries they attempted three times to storm the works, but were repulsed, and their batteries being silenced they returned to their former position.

The final assault was reserved for the 8th of January. To ensure its success it was deemed necessary to order a simultaneous attack to be made on the main works, and on the position of General Morgan and Commodore Patterson west of the river. Colonel Thornton was detached for the latter service, with 500 men, and soon effected a landing. Colonel Davis, with 300 Kentucky militia, being ordered to the water's edge to oppose them, was soon put to flight, and the *Louisiana* militia, under General Morgan, also fled, deserting their battery. Commodore Patterson's battery being thus left unsupported, his crews were obliged to yield to a superior force; but the resistance which they were able to make, detained the British until the contest on the other side of the river was nearly over.

While these operations were going forward on the west bank of the river, the decisive action was fought on the opposite side. At day-break on the 8th, the main body of the British, under General Pakenham, advanced from their en-

campment to storm the American lines. A battery which they had erected the evening before within eight hundred yards, opened a fire to protect their advance. They came on in two columns, the left column along the levee against the American right, and the right column advancing to the swamp for the purpose of turning General Jackson's left. When they had approached within three hundred yards of the lines, forty pieces of artillery from the American works, opened upon them a destructive fire of grape shot and musket balls, and mowed them down by hundreds, while the riflemen, taking deliberate aim, made nearly every shot take effect. Through this destructive fire the British left wing rushed on with their fascines and scaling ladders, and carried the advanced bastion of the American right; but being unsupported, and assailed by the battery planted in the rear, and a regiment of riflemen brought up for the purpose, they were driven from the ground with immense loss of lives. The right column of the British having attempted to pass into the swamp for the purpose of turning the American left, were prevented from effecting their object by the nature of the ground, and being exposed to the fire from the batteries, were compelled to retire. The assault continued an hour and a quarter, during which the British were exposed to the destructive fire from the American artillery and musketry, while the breastworks of cotton bales, which no balls could penetrate, afforded a perfect protection to their opponents. General Pakenham was mortally wounded; General Gibbs, the second in command, also received a mortal wound; and General Keane, the third in command, was wounded so severely as to be incapable of performing his duties of commander.

At eight o'clock the British retreated to their works. The militia were anxious to pursue them, but General Jackson prudently determined not to risk the loss of the city by so rash a proceeding. Of the troops which the British had brought into the field, 700 were killed, 1,400 wounded, and 500 captured, making a total loss of 2,600. The Americans lost 6 killed, and 7 wounded. Of General Morgan's detachment on the west bank, and of a party sent on a sortie on the British lines, 49 were killed, and 178 wounded.

The British kept up the appearance of renewing the attack, and on the 9th commenced a bombardment of Fort St. Philip, which was continued till the 17th, and sustained by Major

Overton and his garrison with but trifling loss. This, however, was merely a feint to cover their final retreat, which took place on the 16th of January, under the direction of General Lambert.

While the whole country was electrified with the news of this important victory, intelligence was received from Europe of the conclusion of a treaty of peace by the commissioners assembled at Ghent. The treaty had been signed on the 24th of December, and ratified by the Prince Regent of England on the 27th. It was received in the United States on the 11th, and ratified on the 17th of February by the president and senate. The pacification of Europe in 1814 had removed all the real grounds of war between Great Britain and the United States, by rendering the interruption of American commerce and the impressment of seamen unnecessary for promoting the objects of the British government. The conquests on both sides were restored; and provision was made for settling the boundaries between the United States and Canada, which have ever since been a subject of negotiation.

A treaty to regulate the commerce between the two countries was signed at London on the 3rd of July, and ratified by the president on the 22nd of December.

The Algerines having taken the opportunity, afforded by the war with Great Britain, to make depredations on American commerce, war was declared against them in March, 1815, and a squadron, under the command of Commodore Bainbridge, was sent out to chastise them. The squadron in the Mediterranean, under Commodore Decatur, after capturing some of their ships, appeared before Algiers, and speedily compelled the Dey to sign a treaty relinquishing all future claims for tribute from the United States. On the arrival of Commodore Bainbridge, arrangements were made with the regencies of Tunis and Tripoli which afforded security to the American commerce from the depredations of Barbary cruisers.

The charter of the old bank of North America, instituted during Washington's administration, having expired in 1811, and a new one being called for by the commercial interest, a national bank was established by congress, in 1816, with a charter for twenty years. Treaties of peace were concluded with the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and other Indian tribes, by which a large accession was made to the public lands of the United States.

President Madison's second term of office being about to expire, an election was held in the autumn of 1816, which gave the first office in the nation to James Monroe, and that of vice-president to Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York.

CHAPTER XL.

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

THE change of administration made no apparent difference in the policy of government. Its attention was chiefly directed to the south. The Union was not considered complete without the acquisition of Florida. Spain, against whom almost all her transatlantic possessions were in full revolt, kept but a feeble hold of these countries. The government of the United States endeavoured to obtain them in exchange for pecuniary claims; and not to alarm the pride of Spain, preserved a strict neutrality between the mother country and her revolted colonies.

Spain, however, hesitated to render up what remained to her of Florida. Some adventurers from the insurgent colonies, in the meantime, took possession of Amelia Island, off their eastern coast, and seemed determined to convert it into a stronghold for buccaneering, for carrying on a commerce in slaves, and for tampering with the Indians. The American government drove out the occupants and destroyed their establishment.

In the following year, 1818, an occasion was presented for taking possession of the main land of Florida. The Seminole Indians, within the Spanish territory, having made hostile incursions on the neighbouring states, General Jackson, commanding the forces of the south, was ordered to reduce them, but not to enter Florida except in pursuit of an enemy.

In addition to the regular force under his command, he raised an army of volunteers, and pursued the Indians into Florida. Two Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, having fallen into his hands, were accused of being engaged in inciting the Indian hostilities, tried by court martial, and executed.

The general, being satisfied that the Spanish garrisons gave aid and protection to the Indians, marched to Pensacola, the capital, and expelling the Spanish authorities, took possession of the place.

For this occupation of a neutral territory General Jackson was called to account by congress: and the whole conduct of the Seminole war was made the subject of investigation by a committee appointed for the purpose, who drew up a report strongly inculcating the general. He was defended by the government party. Debate ran high, and divisions upon the several questions were nearly equal. The friends of the accused, however, succeeded in carrying his complete exculpation.

Spain was in no condition to dispute the claims or conduct of the United States. Her minister in the following year even signed a treaty in which the cession of Florida was stipulated. But King Ferdinand refused to ratify it, sending an envoy to make complaints on different points, principally with respect to encroachments upon the Mexican province of Texas. Ere the period of Mr. Monroe's presidency expired, however, he had the satisfaction of finally negotiating the acquisition of the Floridas, on which he congratulated congress in 1821. This diplomatic difficulty being removed, the independence of the South American republics was recognised by their elder sister of the north, in the ensuing year.

While thus completing itself in the south, the territory of the United States proper was extending itself westward to and beyond the Mississippi. Illinois had just been admitted into the Union, and Missouri demanded also to be erected into a state. This gave occasion to very animated discussions in congress, the northern members being desirous to deny to the people of this state the privilege of owning slaves, and the southern members being equally anxious to grant them this boon. The state was finally admitted by a sort of compromise respecting future applications of the same nature.

The Missouri question had hardly subsided when another subject of contention arose, not less calculated to array the southern against the northern interests. This was the tariff. Ere this, however, became the absorbing topic of debate, a change of administration took place. In March, 1825, Mr. Monroe's second term of office expired. The election of a successor, not having been effected by the people on account of the large number of candidates, devolved upon the house

of representatives. By their vote John Quincy Adams was declared president. Mr. Calhoun had been elected vice-president by the people.

The period of Mr. Monroe's administration was signalised by the remarkable visit of General Lafayette to the United States, which will long be remembered as the triumph of national gratitude. It lasted more than a year, during which he traversed the principal part of the Union, and was everywhere received with the most lively demonstrations of welcome and attachment. Before his return to France, congress voted him the sum of 200,000 dollars, and a township of land, as a remuneration, in part, for his services during the revolutionary war, and as a testimony of their gratitude.

CHAPTER XLI.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

THE new president was inaugurated March 4th, 1825. His address on this occasion has been admired, both in America and in Europe, as a master-piece in dignity and style.

‘The president, in his address on this occasion, said, in unfolding to his countrymen the principles by which he should be governed in the fulfilment of his official duties, his first resort should be to that constitution which he should swear, to the best of his ability, to preserve, protect, and defend. “That revered instrument enumerates the powers, and prescribes the duties, of the executive magistrate; and, in its first words, declares the purposes to which these, and the whole action of the government, instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted—to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this Union, in their successive generations.” Having recited what had been done by the government in the compass of thirty-six years since this great national covenant was instituted, the president took a retrospective view to the epoch of the confederation. “The year of jubilee since the first formation of

our Union has just elapsed ; that of the declaration of our independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution. Since that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to twelve. A territory, bounded by the Mississippi, has been extended from sea to sea. New states have been admitted to the Union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with the principal dominions of the earth. The people of other nations, inhabitants of regions acquired, not by conquest, but by compact, have been united with us in the participation of our rights and duties, of our burdens and blessings." Notice was taken of the progress of agriculture and of settlements, of commerce and arts, of liberty and law. The great features of the administration of the preceding president were sketched. "Under the pledge of these promises, made by that eminent citizen, at the time of his first induction to this office, in his career of eight years, the internal taxes have been repealed ; sixty millions of the public debt have been discharged ; provision has been made for the comfort and relief of the aged and indigent, among the surviving warriors of the revolution, the regular armed force has been reduced, and the constitution revised and perfected ; the accountability for the expenditure of public monies has been made more effective ; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific Ocean ; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognised, and recommended, by example and by council, to the potentates of Europe ; progress has been made in the defence of the country, by fortifications and the increase of the navy—towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves—in alluring the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation of the soil and of the mind—in exploring the interior regions of the Union, and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, for the further application of our national resources to the internal improvement of our country.—In this brief outline of the promise and performance of my predecessor, the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly delineated. To pursue to their consummation those purposes of improvement in our common condition, instituted or recommended by him, will embrace the whole sphere of my obligations."'

The visit of General Lafayette to the United States, which

had commenced on the 13th of August of the preceding year; lasted through the summer of 1825. He had arrived at New York, visited New England, and the southern and western states, and wintered in Washington during the session of congress. On the 15th of June he arrived in Boston, and attended on the 17th of the same month, the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Bunker, or rather Breed's Hill, and assisted at the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the monument since erected in commemoration of this victory. In presence of the assembled concourse, comprising many thousands of the people of New England, numerous visitors from other parts of the Union, and a considerable number of the surviving heroes of the battle, an address was delivered by Mr. Webster, which was worthy of the occasion and of the distinguished orator. In September, Lafayette took his departure for France, in a national frigate which was sent out expressly to convey him to the land of his birth.

During the year 1825, treaties were concluded between the United States and the Creeks, Kansas and Osages, by which large tracts of the Indian lands were added to the already extensive public domain.

In 1826, a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, between Denmark and the United States was concluded; and a similar treaty was also ratified between our government and the federation of the Centre of America.

On the 4th of July, 1826, John Adams died at Quincy, Massachusetts, in the 91st year of his age; and on the same day, Thomas Jefferson expired at Monticello, in Virginia, in his 83rd year. It was noticed as a remarkable coincidence that these distinguished statesmen and patriots, who had both taken so active a part in establishing the independence of the country, and had each sustained its highest office, should depart this life on the day which completed the first half century since they had signed the charter of its freedom. 'Without the aid of panegyric, of painting, or of sculpture,' says an American historian, [Dr. Holmes] 'their names will be preserved in the Declaration of Independence, and interwoven with the history of the United States; their actions will present their true portraits to posterity; and the respect of the republic to their memory will be their noblest monument.'

The Tariff of duties for the protection of American manufactures, which had been the subject of debate under the

administration of Mr. Monroe, was again brought before congress during the last part of Mr. Adams's administration, and in 1828 the new tariff was passed which rendered the system of protection the settled policy of the country. This act was considered by many statesmen, particularly in the southern part of the Union, not only highly oppressive to the great mass of the community, and injurious to commerce, but in direct violation of the constitution itself.

Mr. Adams's period of office being about to expire, an election was held in the autumn of 1828, which gave the first office in the republic to General Andrew Jackson. Mr. Calhoun was a second time chosen vice president.

CHAPTER XLII.

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

It is a difficult task to write the history of an administration which is not yet closed. The impartial awards of time are necessary in order to pronounce with certainty on the characters of leading men or the tendency of important measures. Leaving this office to the future historian, we propose merely to glance in a cursory manner at the principal events which have distinguished the period of the present administration.

As the political party, who elected President Jackson, had been directly opposed to the supporters of Mr. Adams, the cabinet was changed, and a large number of executive officers were removed, and new ones appointed, immediately after the inauguration of the new president. This measure excited considerable clamour, but it was defended by an appeal to the precedent afforded by Mr. Jefferson, who had pursued the same course, though to a much smaller extent. As no remarkable difference was apparent in the general policy of the government, the people regarded the change in their executive officers with little solicitude.

In 1830, a new treaty of commerce was concluded with Great Britain, by which the ports of that power in the West Indies, South America, the Bahama Islands, the Caicos and

the Bermudas were opened to the vessels of the United States, and our ports were thrown open to British vessels coming from those places. The conditions of this treaty and the manner in which it has been permitted to take effect, are said to have given the carrying trade between this country and the West Indies chiefly to British vessels.

In May 1830, a treaty between the United States and Turkey was signed at Constantinople, securing to the former the free navigation of the Black Sea, and the trade of the Turkish empire.

During the session of congress which commenced in the autumn of 1831, a bill was brought forward for granting a new charter to the Bank of the United States, the old charter being about to expire in 1836. After a long and animated debate it was passed by a small majority. On receiving the bill for his approbation the president thought proper to return it to congress, with a communication in which his reasons were assigned for not affixing his signature to the bill. As the constitutional majority for passing the bill into a law without the signature of the president could not be obtained, the bank ceased to be a national institution at the expiration of its first charter.

In the spring of the year 1832, the Winnebagoes and some other neighbouring tribes of Indians commenced a series of hostilities against the inhabitants on the north-western frontier. A body of regular troops under the command of General Scott being sent against the Indians, defeated them, and on the 27th of August captured the famous chief Black Hawk. This terminated the war. Black Hawk and a number of his Indian friends were taken to Washington, and several other cities of the Union, in order to impress upon them such an idea of the strength and resources of the country as to prevent the Indians from engaging in fresh hostilities. The Indians were then permitted to return to their own territories.

Congress was occupied during a great part of the session, which terminated in the summer of 1832, in discussing a new tariff bill, which was finally passed. Although it effected many changes in the protective duties, it was considered highly favourable to the American manufacturer, and gave general satisfaction to the supporters of that policy, which had become so popular in many parts of the Union, as to be called the American system. In several of the southern states, it excited the most determined opposition. The state

of South Carolina, in convention, proceeded so far as to pass an ordinance, openly resisting the law, and the people actually began to arm themselves for the purpose of carrying the ordinance into effect.

Such was the attitude of affairs when congress assembled in the autumn of 1832, and all parties were anxiously awaiting the result of the threatened collision between the officers of the general government and the people of the opposing state.

In December the president issued a proclamation, in which, after discussing the question of state rights, and asserting the right and power of the general government to regulate commerce and imposts, he exhorted the people of South Carolina to desist from their opposition, and called upon the citizens of the United States to support him in the execution of the laws.

The immediate effect of this proclamation was to unite all the friends of the Union in support of the president. Many of his warmest political opponents declared their determination to give him their aid in preserving the integrity of the Union, and asserting the supremacy of the laws. The government and people of South Carolina, however, were by no means intimidated by this array of power. They still presented a bold front; and Mr. Calhoun, one of their leading statesmen, having resigned the office of vice-president, and been elected to the United States senate, took his seat among the members of that body, to defend the position assumed by his native state.

In this crisis, congress deemed it prudent to blend conciliation with menace, and to alleviate the grievances of which the *nullifiers* complained. With this view, towards the close of December, 1832, a bill was introduced into the house of representatives, substituting for the obnoxious tariff a new and lower rate of duties, from and after the 3rd of March, 1833. This bill gave satisfaction to neither party; and while it was under discussion, another bill was introduced into the senate for more effectually enforcing the collection of the duties, which effectually armed the executive for the support of the revenue laws. This bill was ultimately passed.

When a considerable portion of the session had elapsed without any satisfactory adjustment of this alarming dispute, Mr. Clay, the same statesman who had effected the reconciliation of northern and southern interests in the Missouri affair, brought forward, in the senate, by way of compromise,

a new tariff bill, which met with the support of Mr. Calhoun, and of the other senators from the southern section of the Union. It provided for a gradual reduction of the duties, thus enabling the manufacturers to prepare for the change, and assuring their opponents of ultimate redress. This being a money bill, could not originate in the senate; but having been favourably received there as a pledge of peace, was introduced, by way of amendment, into the tariff bill in the other house, and being there agreed to, it was sent back to the senate, and finally passed. The danger of disunion and civil war was thus completely removed.

The session of congress was closed on the 3rd of March, 1833, and on the 4th, General Jackson, who had been a second time elected to the office of president, in the autumn of 1832, delivered his inaugural address in the hall of representatives. It was chiefly occupied in recommending union to the states, and in pointing out the dangers they would incur by separation from, or disagreement with each other. The office of vice-president had been conferred by the people on Martin Van Buren.

The next important measure of General Jackson's administration, was the removal of the government deposits from the bank of the United States, to the local banks. In justification of this measure, the president, on the 18th of September, addressed to the cabinet a long and argumentative paper. His principal charges against the bank were, that its officers had employed means to retard the redemption of part of the public debt, retaining in their own hands the money which should have been applied to that redemption, and that they had exerted their influence, and misapplied their funds in controlling the press of the country.

The commercial embarrassment and distress occasioned by this measure arrayed a strong party in opposition to the president; and the subsequent session of congress was chiefly occupied with discussions connected with the 'Bank question.' The president was sustained in his course by the house of representatives; but the senate were resolute in their opposition. Matters were even carried so far that a vote censuring the conduct of the president and pronouncing it unconstitutional was passed in that body. The alarm occasioned throughout the country by the derangement of the currency, caused a temporary suspension of commercial

business in many places, and a great number of petitions from citizens in various parts of the Union were addressed to the president praying for the restoration of the deposits to the bank. But with his usual firmness of purpose, he maintained the position which he had taken; and the deposits were not restored. When the temporary panic had passed away, however, business speedily recovered its usual activity.

In his message to congress at the opening of the session of 1834-5, the president adverted to certain claims on the French government for spoliations on our commerce committed under the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon, which had been adjusted by a treaty fixing the amount at 25,000,000 francs, but had never been paid. A suggestion was thrown out in the message as to the propriety of making reprisals on French property in case of further delay. The French government of course took fire at this intimation, and assumed an attitude which seemed to threaten war. Neither nation, however, was in a situation to render this desirable; and the president having in his message of 1835, without compromising his own dignity, or that of his country, given such explanations of his previous declarations as he thought consistent with truth and propriety, the French ministry gladly availed themselves of the opportunity thus afforded of satisfying the American claims without delay.

In the winter of 1835, the Seminole Indians commenced hostilities in Florida, ravaging the plantations and killing great numbers of the inhabitants. A considerable force of regular troops and volunteers was sent against them without success, until it became necessary to order the greater part of the regular army to the defence of the southern border. The war, however, has not yet been terminated, (October 1836,) but the Creeks and several other tribes having united their arms with those of the Seminoles are still engaged in hostilities with the people of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Great numbers of them have been destroyed, and others captured and transported to the western territories of the United States; but the nature of the country affords them great facilities for retreat and concealment; and the resolution which they evince, while it renders this the most obstinate of any of the numerous Indian wars in which the United States have been engaged, gives little reason to hope

for its termination without effecting their removal *en masse* to the regions beyond the Mississippi.

During the present administration, the whole of the public debt of the United States has been extinguished, and in the summer of the present year, (1836,) congress passed a bill for distributing the surplus revenue among the several states of the Union, which received the sanction of the president, and became a law.

APPENDIX.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

JULY 4, 1776.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident;—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evince a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future

security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation, till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalisation of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and to eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation,

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilised nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the

merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world, for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

JOHN HANCOCK, &c.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Sect. I.—All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Sect. II.—1. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year, by the people of the several states: and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative, who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative: and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three; *Massachusetts* eight; *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one; *Connecticut* five; *New York* six; *New Jersey* four; *Pennsylvania* eight; *Delaware* one; *Maryland*

six; *Virginia* ten; *North Carolina* five; *South Carolina* five; and *Georgia* three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Sect. III.—1. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class, shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The senate shall choose their other officers and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

6. The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend farther than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honour, trust, or profit, under

the United States; but the party convicted, shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Sect. IV.—1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state, by the legislature thereof; but the congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. The congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Sect. V.—1. Each house shall be judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications, of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Sect. VI.—1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest, during their attendance at the session at their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United

States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Sect. VII.—1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill, which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approves he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to re-consider it. If, after such re-consideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be re-considered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned, by the president, within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary, (except on a question of adjournment,) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Sect. VIII.—The congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes:

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalisation and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, throughout the United States:

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads:

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court: To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

10. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

11. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use, shall be for a longer term than two years:

12. To provide and maintain a navy:

13. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

14. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

15. To provide for organising, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such parts of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by congress:

16. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district, (not exceeding ten miles square,) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings:—And

17. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper, for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution, in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Sect. IX.—1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the congress prior to the

year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money, shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of congress, accept of any present, emolument, office or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Sect. X.—1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and controul of the congress. No state shall, without the consent of congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Sect. I.—1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows :

2. Each state shall appoint, in such a manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [Annulled. See Amendments, Art. 12.]

4. The congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person, except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office, who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president; and the congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

7. The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

9. "I do solemnly swear [or affirm] that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the constitution of the United States."

Sect. II.—1. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia

of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Sect. III.—He shall from time to time give to the congress information of the state of the union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors, and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Sect. IV.—The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

Sect. I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times,

receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Sect. II.—1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, between citizens of different states, between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be in such place or places as the congress may by law have directed.

Sect. III.—1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

Sect. I.—Full faith and credit shall be given, in each state, to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Sect. II.—1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state, from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labour in one state under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour ; but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

Sect. III.—1. New states may be admitted by the congress into this Union ; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state, nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned, as well as of the congress.

2. The congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

Sect. IV.—The United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive, (when the legislature cannot be convened,) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution : or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the congress ; provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall, in any manner, affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

2. This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; anything in the constitution or laws of any state, to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution: but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust, under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

GEO. WASHINGTON, *Pres't.*

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of

a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service, in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour; and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-

examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.

1. The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president: and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate; the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted: the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by

ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death, or other constitutional debility, of the president.

2. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

3. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

If any citizen of the United States shall accept, claim, receive, or retain any title of nobility or honour, or shall without the consent of congress, accept and retain any present, pension, office, or emolument of any kind whatever, from any emperor, king, prince, or foreign power, such person shall cease to be a citizen of the United States, and shall be incapable of holding any office of trust or profit under them, or either of them.

POPULATION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------|
| Total population in 1701 | 262,000 |
| 1749 | 986,000 |

EXPENSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| | <i>Dollars.</i> |
| Estimated amount of expenditures } from 1775 to 1784, in specie | 135,193,703 |
| Emissions of continental money from 1776 to 1781: | |
| Old emission | 357,476,541 |
| New emission | 2,070,485 |

By comparing this amount of paper money, with the preceding estimate of the expense of the war, in specie, it will be seen that the average depreciation of the whole amount issued was nearly two-thirds of its original value.

FORCES EMPLOYED DURING THE REVOLUTION.

[From Dr. Holmes's Annals.]

Land Forces employed by Great Britain in America, 1774—1780.

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|--------|
| 1774 | 6,884 | Died and deserted.. | 19,381 | Lost of the army.. | 24,717 |
| 1775 | 11,219 | Prisoners | 5,336 | Lost of the navy.. | 4,314 |
| 1776 | 45,865 | | | | |
| 1777 | 48,616 | | 24,717 | | 29,031 |

Naval Force for the above four years.

| | |
|------------------------------------|--------|
| Men of war and armed vessels | 83 |
| Complement of men | 22,337 |
| Of which were lost by death | 4,314 |

British Corps and Recruits sent from Great Britain or Ireland to North America or the West Indies.

| | | |
|------------|--------|-----------------|
| 1778 | 3,774 | } Total 20,882. |
| 1779 | 6,871 | |
| 1780 | 10,237 | |

Men and Marines employed by Great Britain during the American War.

Raised for his Majesty's navy, marines included, from September 29, 1774, to September 29, 1780 175,990.

Of whom, in 5 years, beginning with 1776, and ending with 1780,

| | | |
|-------------------|--------|-----------------|
| Died | 18,545 | } 19,779 total. |
| Were killed | 1,234 | |
| Deserted | 42,069 | |

Troops raised in Great Britain and Ireland for his Majesty's Land Service (Militia and Fencible Men in North Britain not included) from September 29, 1774, to September 29, 1780 76,885

Of which died in N. America and the W. Indies..... 10,012

Taken prisoners, including those under the Convention of Saratoga..... 8,629

Deserted..... 3,801

Discharged the service 3,885

26,327

Account of the Ships of the Line and Frigates taken or destroyed during the War of the Revolution.

| | | |
|---|----|---------|
| French ships of the line taken by the British | 13 | } .. 26 |
| Do. lost..... | 13 | |
| Spanish ships of the line taken by do. | 7 | } .. 12 |
| Do. lost..... | 5 | |
| Dutch ships of the line taken by do. | 3 | } .. 7 |
| Do. lost..... | 4 | |
| American ships of the line taken by do..... | 1 | |

Taken 23, lost 23. Total 46

French frigates taken 27, American 12, Spanish 11, and Dutch 2—beside which, 5 Spanish and 4 American frigates were lost. Total 61

British, one sixty-four and two fifties taken by the French 3 } 18

Do. ships of the line lost..... 15 } 18

British frigates taken by the French 6, by the Americans 1, and 17 lost.

Total 24.

A Statement of the Troops (Continental and Militia) furnished by the respective States, during the Revolutionary War, from 1775 to 1783, inclusive.

[From the Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society.]

| | 1775 | | 1776 | | 1777 | | 1778 | | 1779 | | 1780 | | 1781 | | 1782 | | 1783 | |
|-----------------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|----------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|---------|--------|
| | Contin. | Militia. | Contin. | Militia. | Contin. | Militia. | Contin. | Milit. | Contin. | Milit. | Contin. | Milit. | Contin. | Milit. | Contin. | Milit. | Contin. | Milit. |
| New Hampshire, | 2824 | 3019 | | 1172 | 1111 | | 1283 | | 1004 | 222 | 1017 | 760 | 700 | | 744 | | 733 | |
| Massachusetts, | 16444 | 13372 | 4000 | 7816 | 2755 | | 7010 | 1927 | 6287 | 1451 | 4553 | 3436 | 3732 | | 4423 | | 4370 | |
| Rhode Island, | 1193 | 798 | 1102 | 548 | | | 630 | 2426 | 507 | 756 | 915 | | 464 | 1566 | 481 | | 372 | |
| Connecticut, | 4507 | 6390 | 5737 | 4563 | | | 4010 | | 3544 | | 3133 | 554 | 2420 | | 1732 | | 1740 | |
| New York, | 2075 | 3629 | 1715 | 1903 | 921 | | 2194 | | 2256 | | 2179 | 668 | 1728 | 1501 | 1198 | | 1169 | |
| New Jersey, | | 3193 | 5893 | 1408 | | | 1586 | | 1276 | | 1105 | 162 | 823 | | 660 | | 675 | |
| Pennsylvania, | 400 | 5519 | 4876 | 4983 | 2481 | | 3684 | | 3476 | | 3337 | | 1346 | | 1265 | | 1598 | |
| Delaware, | | 609 | 145 | 229 | | | 349 | | 317 | | 325 | 231 | 89 | | 164 | | 235 | |
| Maryland, | | 637 | 2592 | 2030 | 1535 | | 3307 | | 2849 | | 2065 | | 770 | | 1280 | | 974 | |
| Virginia, | | 6181 | | 5744 | 1289 | | 5236 | | 3973 | | 2486 | | 1215 | 4331 | 1204 | | 629 | |
| North Carolina, | | 1134 | | 1281 | | | 1287 | | 1214 | | | | 545 | | 1105 | | 697 | |
| South Carolina, | | 2069 | | 1650 | | | 1650 | | 909 | | | | | | | | 139 | |
| Georgia, | | 351 | | 1423 | | | 673 | | 87 | | | | | | | | 145 | |
| | 27443 | 46901 | 26060 | 34750 | 10112 | | 32899 | 4353 | 27699 | 2429 | 21115 | 5811 | 13832 | 7398 | 14256 | | 13076 | |

Total { Continental 231,971
Militia..... 56,163

Table of Contemporary Sovereigns from the period of the Discovery of America to the present time.

| A. D. | ENGLAND. | FRANCE. | GERMANY. | PAPAL STATES. | SPAIN. |
|-------|------------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| 1492 | Henry VII. | Chas. VIII. | Fred. III. | Alexander VI. | Catharine, |
| 1493 | .. | .. | Maximilian I. | .. | [Nav. |
| 1498 | .. | Louis XII. | .. | Pius III. | |
| 1503 | .. | .. | .. | Julius II. | |
| 1509 | Henry VIII. | .. | .. | Leo X. | |
| 1513 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1515 | .. | Francis I. | .. | .. | Charles I. |
| 1516 | .. | .. | .. | .. | Emperor |
| 1519 | .. | .. | Charles V. | .. | Charles V. |
| 1522 | .. | .. | .. | Adrian VI. | |
| 1523 | .. | .. | .. | Clement VII. | |
| 1534 | .. | .. | .. | Paul III. | |
| 1547 | Edw. VI. | Henry II. | .. | Julius III. | |
| 1550 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1553 | Mary. | .. | .. | Marcellinus II. | |
| 1555 | .. | .. | .. | Paul IV. | Philip II. |
| 1556 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1558 | Elizabeth. | .. | Fred. I. | Pius IV. | |
| 1559 | .. | Francis II. | .. | .. | |
| 1560 | .. | Charles IX. | .. | .. | |
| 1564 | .. | .. | Maximilian II. | Pius V. | |
| 1566 | .. | .. | .. | Gregory XIII. | |
| 1572 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1574 | .. | Henry III. | .. | .. | |
| 1576 | .. | .. | Rodolph II. | .. | |
| 1584 | .. | .. | .. | Sixtus V. | |
| 1585 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1589 | .. | Henry IV. | .. | Urban VII. | |
| 1590 | .. | .. | .. | Gregory XIV. | |
| 1591 | .. | .. | .. | Innocent IX. | |
| 1592 | .. | .. | .. | Clement VIII. | |
| 1598 | .. | .. | .. | .. | Philip III. |
| | G. BRITAIN. | | | | |
| 1603 | James I. | .. | .. | Leo XI. | |
| 1605 | .. | .. | .. | Paul V. | |
| 1610 | .. | Louis XIII. | .. | .. | |
| 1612 | .. | .. | Matthias | .. | |
| 1619 | .. | .. | Fred. II. | .. | |
| 1621 | .. | .. | .. | Gregory XV. | Philip IV. |
| 1623 | .. | .. | .. | Urban VIII. | |
| 1625 | Charles I. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1637 | .. | .. | Fred. III. | .. | |
| 1643 | .. | Louis XIV. | .. | Innocent X. | |
| 1644 | .. | .. | .. | Alexander VII. | |
| 1655 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1658 | .. | .. | Leopold I. | .. | |
| 1660 | Charles II. | .. | .. | .. | Charles II. |
| 1665 | .. | .. | .. | Clement IX. | |
| 1667 | .. | .. | .. | Clement X. | |
| 1670 | .. | .. | .. | Innocent XI. | |
| 1676 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1685 | James II. | .. | .. | Alex. VIII. | |
| 1689 | Mary & William III. | .. | .. | Innocent XII. | |
| 1691 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |
| 1694 | .. | .. | .. | Clement XI. | Philip V. |
| 1700 | .. | .. | .. | .. | |

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|-------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| 1702 | Anne. | | | | |
| 1705 | .. | .. | Joseph I. | | |
| 1711 | .. | .. | Charles VI. | | |
| 1714 | George I. | | | | |
| 1715 | .. | Louis XV. | | | |
| 1721 | .. | .. | .. | Innocent XIII. | |
| 1724 | .. | .. | .. | Benedict XIII. | |
| 1727 | George II. | .. | .. | | |
| 1730 | .. | .. | .. | Clement XII. | |
| 1740 | .. | .. | .. | Benedict XIV. | |
| 1742 | .. | .. | Charles VII. | | |
| 1745 | .. | .. | Francis I. & Maria Teresa. | | |
| 1751 | .. | .. | .. | .. | Ferdinand VI. |
| 1758 | .. | .. | .. | Clement XIII. | |
| 1759 | .. | .. | .. | .. | Charles III. |
| 1760 | George III. | | | | |
| 1765 | .. | .. | Joseph II. | | |
| 1769 | .. | .. | .. | Clement XIV. | |
| 1774 | .. | Louis XVI. | | | |
| 1775 | .. | .. | .. | Pius VI. | |
| 1788 | .. | .. | .. | .. | Charles IV. |
| 1790 | .. | .. | Leopold II. | | |
| 1792 | .. | Republic. | Francis II.* | | |
| 1800 | .. | .. | .. | Pius VII. | |
| 1804 | .. | Napoleon Emperor. | | | |
| | | | AUSTRIA. | | |
| 1806 | .. | .. | Francis I. | | |
| 1808 | .. | .. | .. | .. | Ferd. VII. J. Napoleon |
| 1811 | Regency. | | | | |
| 1814 | .. | Louis XVIII. | .. | .. | Ferd. VII. |
| 1820 | George IV. | | | | |
| 1823 | .. | .. | .. | Leo XII. | |
| 1824 | .. | Charles X. | | | |
| 1830 | .. | Louis Philip. | | | |
| 1831 | William IV. | .. | .. | Gregory XVI. | |
| 1832 | | | | | |
| 1836 | | | | | |

* Upon the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, in 1806, Francis ceased to be Emperor of Germany, and became hereditary Emperor of Austria, under the title of Francis I.









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